



**THE
DUKE
DIVINITY SCHOOL
REVIEW**

Winter 1972

Better Late Than Never . . .

The Winter Issue, 1972, is a little late this year, due to the necessity of seeking competitive bids for the printing of the *Review*. Defensively, we note that such tardiness is not without precedent, even among the most prestigious of journals, and we hope that our readers have not been seriously inconvenienced. The undersigned takes full responsibility for having failed to foresee and make arrangements for the necessity which entailed this delay.

D.M.S.

THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL REVIEW

Internships

Volume 37

Winter 1972

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Editorial Committee: D. Moody Smith, Chairman; James R. Bailes,
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Internships

An internship generally encompasses an academic year in which the student is engaged in some form of employment by which he gains experience and insight into his ministry. Internships are arranged to meet the particular needs and interests of the student. The student may elect to spend a year as an intern in a local church. Students interested in a ministry on a college campus may decide to spend a year in this area. By working under the direction of a college chaplain, the student may develop his professional skills and return to the Divinity School to complete his class work with a clearer sense of vocation. On occasion a student has been able to spend a year working in what used to be called the "foreign mission field."

Clinical Pastoral Education (CPE) internships are provided through a large number training centers in the United States and abroad accredited by or affiliated with the Association for Clinical Pastoral Education. With the Medical Center and a staff trained in Pastoral Psychology Duke figures prominently among these. Training normally involves pastoral care to people in various life crises under close supervision through daily peer group meetings and weekly individual supervisory sessions. Data for professional development include "living human documents" reported through verbatims, tapes, and process notes, peer group and supervisor-trainee interactions, interprofessional relationships, lectures and assigned readings. Both summer quarters and intern years are available to Master of Divinity candidates who receive credit toward graduation. Advanced CPE programs for persons who already hold the Master of Divinity degree are also available.

The Interseminary Church and Society Program is a cooperative venture of the Duke Divinity School, The Union Theological Seminary (Richmond) and Virginia Theological Seminary (Alexandria). The student ordinarily secures a non-church position in which he is employed for an academic year. During this period he participates in a seminar with other persons in the program under the leadership of faculty members and resource professionals. Students in this program undertake work in business and industry, government and politics, science and technology, and urban affairs. Students from

any one of the seminaries may spend the year at one of the other two. Thus the individual has the advantage of a wide range of employment opportunities in three different areas. Furthermore, he can share in an ecumenical venture, and possibly live a year on the campus of another seminary. Church and Society interns have been employed in a variety of tasks. Some have worked on the staffs of members of Congress. Others have served in welfare agencies, city government and hospital administration. Those in the business and industry areas have been employed in such fields as personnel work and market research. Some have spent a year engaged in scientific research.

An internship requires a considerable investment both by the Divinity School and the student. The securing of job interviews and assisting the student to receive educational value from his work are tasks of the school. The student invests an academic year in the internship, thus delaying his graduation. While student experiences and evaluations naturally vary, most students who have had internship years assess their experiences positively.

This issue of *The Review* consists of articles by students and recent alumni who have participated in one of the internship programs. Some of the authors elected to reflect directly upon their experiences, while others have addressed themselves to problems which they confronted and reflected upon during their internships. The result is something of a *potpourri*, but one that reflects the vitality and interest associated with the internship programs. While an effort has been made to secure articles representative of the several types of internship, it has, of course, proved impossible to represent completely the varied possibilities available to students and all the nuances of their reactions and reflections.

An Internship in the Parish

by THOMAS L. JOYCE

As I begin to write my eye is caught by the slight movement of a mobile hanging in one corner of the room. Almost simultaneously I become acutely aware of the clear and penetrating voice of Carol King emanating from the opposite corner. I then begin to survey the decor of the room in which I have sat down to write. There is another mobile suspended in front of a heat register and it is twirling back and forth as a warm flow of air seems to give it life. There are crackled bottles of various sizes sitting in the window sills, and home-made candles are scattered all around releasing their scent of spice and bayberry. On the table next to where I am seated there is a multi-colored, glass candle holder, and on the walls there are brightly-colored banners of burlap and macramé.

I cannot help but note that none of these things were here a year ago. The mobile, the Carol King album, the candles, the banners; everything, has either been purchased, made, or received as gifts within the last twelve months. And not only that, but a year ago their presence in the room would have neither been desired nor greatly appreciated. What could have happened within the past year not only to stir my interest in but also my affection for these things which I had considered to be little more than trivia such a short time earlier? Surely not an intern year in the parish ministry; but, strange as it may seem, that is exactly the case. I had the fortunate opportunity of working for the academic year 1970-71 under the student intern program of The Divinity School as the Associate Minister of the First United Methodist Church in Boca Raton, Florida, and it was here that I experienced more growth, both personally and professionally, than I had ever experienced previously in any one-year period. I began to see that in preparing myself for the ministry I had all too often abdicated my own tastes and desires and feelings in the interest of becoming a flawless professional. What was good for me as an individual person, I thought, was not necessarily good either for me as a minister or for those who would happen to be among my

Thomas L. Joyce, class of 1972, is a member of the Virginia Conference.

parishioners. Paradoxically, however, what I found to be actually called for in the parish was that I have a clearer understanding of and appreciation for my own personhood and that I be willing to share that understanding and appreciation with others. Correlatively, somewhat to my surprise I discovered that the people with whom I worked did not demand as many answers from me as I had thought they would; rather, they demanded from me the honesty to admit that I like them did not possess the magic formula to cure all the ills of mankind. As I became more willing to admit my humanity with all my limitations and facades, the more they were willing to admit theirs; and, surprisingly enough, the more meaningful and mutually strengthening our relationships became. Together we grew in the knowledge and love of each other and of God, and I discovered not only more about them but also more about myself, such as the fact that I did like candles, and Carol King, and brightly-colored banners, and many other things that I had never before really given a fair chance.

A Program is Developed

I had gone to the church at Boca Raton in early June of 1970 under the Field Education Program of The Divinity School. It was agreed upon by the church and the Office of Field Education and myself that I would remain there for a period of twelve weeks and work as an assistant to the minister of the church, Clark S. Reed. At that time it was my intention to return to school in the fall and begin my senior year of study for the M.Div. degree. However, as the twelve weeks progressed and as various programs were being instituted and others contemplated, Clark and I began to talk about how beneficial it would be both for the church and for me if I could spend an entire year there as a student intern instead of just the twelve weeks as we had originally anticipated. We talked to several members of the church's pastor-parish relations committee about this possibility and each of them responded quite enthusiastically to the idea. Not only were they interested in having additional ministerial help for the ensuing year, they were also excited about the opportunity of participating in this type of educational enterprise. A proposal was then drafted and sent to Professor O. Kelly Ingram of the Office of Field Education spelling out in some detail the type of internship that we would like to see developed. Professor Ingram was very interested in our proposal and over a period of several weeks and through

the joint efforts of the church, The Divinity and myself there was designed a program which met both the desires and expectations of everyone concerned. The job description included general pastoral duties, special responsibilities with youth, supervision and administration, and pastoral counseling, as well as a program of readings in theology.

Thus I was provided with the opportunity of participating in a wide range of ministerial duties. My designation for the year was Associate Minister of the Parish, and in keeping with that designation my responsibilities were by and large confined to the membership of the church, though I did participate in several non-parish or community activities which were not included within the original job description. Also, we were particularly careful from the very beginning to make sure that I worked with all age groups instead of just the youth of the church, as might easily become the case in this type of program. While this would not have been a bad thing necessarily, we did believe that it would limit somewhat the value of the total educational experience.

The reading list for the program proved to be a very stimulating and informative one. As I read the books on the list I would take notes on what I considered to be their most positive contributions and then discuss these with Clark. This was a particularly helpful enterprise since such dialogue often helped to initiate trains of thought which had not been precipitated from the reading itself.

We remained flexible, and as the year progressed several substitutions were made on the reading list. Whenever the content of a book was found to be completely unstimulating or repetitive of a book that I had already read, we would substitute for it one which we thought would be a more profitable undertaking. This helped to keep the reading interesting and enjoyable as well as provocative, which, I believe, is an important consideration if one is to truly enjoy what he is doing.

In my opinion the relationship established and maintained between the senior minister and myself proved to be the most important single factor in the success of the program once it actually got underway. From the very beginning every attempt was made to insure that we would proceed together as co-workers and co-learners rather than as "the minister" and his assistant or "the teacher" and his student. We were particularly careful to help the congregation understand that I was a seminarian training for the ministry who was

there to learn ; but, also that I was an ordained deacon of the United Methodist Church who was there to serve. Therefore, I was a minister of the church just as much as was Clark, and could be called upon in time of need just as he could. This understanding was quickly grasped by everyone and in a relatively short period of time I was being both accepted and relied upon as an integral and important part of the life of the parish.

Even though Clark and I viewed each other as co-learners, it was his responsibility to serve as my immediate supervisor and counselor for the intern program, and to meet with me throughout the year to consider any problems or questions that either he or I considered to be in need of discussion or of being worked through. Some of our meetings for this purpose were planned well ahead of time and scheduled on our calendars, but the large majority of them were rather spontaneous occurrences arising out of the need for either one or both of us to sit down and talk. I think we both appreciated our getting together in this way since we seemed to have been saved from those terribly depressing meetings where everyone concerned had rather be someplace else and when no one really has anything worthwhile to contribute. As one might imagine the length of our discussions varied with the problem or issue under consideration at the time. Some would both begin and end with the simple inquiry, "Is everything all right?" Others would last for an entire morning or evening. I was and still am very pleased with our discussions together. They proved to be a tremendous asset in my gaining a better understanding both of myself and of some of the dynamics which one would almost always encounter in the parish ministry.

Some Thoughts Afterwards

As a result of my year of work and study in the local church, I believe that I have a significantly increased understanding in almost every area that one would normally list under the heading "Ministerial Training." Perhaps the one area of development that I am most happy about has been my evolving change in focus from the concerns of the whole world to the concerns of those in my immediate proximity, and often even more to the point, to my own concerns. I am beginning to see that the problems of the world are to no little degree both the reflections of, and are reflected in, my own prejudices, fears, and anxieties. This has led me to examine much more carefully who I am both as a person and as a minister. When faced with

the awesomeness of this task as well as with both the pain and the joy that always seems to be a part of it, I find that there really isn't much difference between me and those with whom, and to whom, I strive to minister. All of us are God's children and are forced to wrestle with basically the same questions of meaning and purpose in life. Hopefully, each of us can help the other as we struggle together for the answers.

The dawning of this awareness that both ministers and laymen are in the same boat was of tremendous help to me in my work as associate minister last year. It did not take me long to see that the minister is only fooling himself when he pretends to be immune from the normal frailties of being a man. I sensed over and over again that the members of that church longed to know that a human heart beat beneath the clergyman's robe, and if this is an indication of the rest of the Church—and I suspect that it is—then more than ever we ministers must honestly face the ambiguities and uncertainties of life and not be content to hide behind the stereotyped image of the omniscient man of God. For too long the image of the minister as one who has the inside track to life has endured, and in my opinion neither the Church nor the world will continue to accept that image. The minister is going to have to experience, more than he ever has before, both the humiliation and the exultation of admitting that, like everyone else, he is only human.

Strangely enough, alongside this increased appreciation for a deeper involvement on behalf of the minister within the ambiguities of life's meanings I began to possess a much greater confidence in my ability as a minister. As I began to experience at least a partial release from the responsibility of having to solve all the problems of the world and the Church, I became able to concentrate more effectively upon developing more specific and realistic tools for ministry. I began to see that people often have tremendous capabilities and talents but are afraid to release and utilize them; however, when accepted, and encouraged, and allowed to abandon their fears, they will often become totally different persons—a new birth takes place. My increased confidence as a minister, therefore, came as a result of my seeing myself as one who can, with others, help create this most important atmosphere of acceptance and encouragement in which people may be nourished and allowed to grow to their fullest human potential.

Another area of growth about which I am greatly pleased is the

theological. I must give great credit here to Clark for his tireless guidance and his deeply probing questions into so many areas of our mutual concern and interest. I think, however, that I was influenced much more by his approach to these concerns rather than any one particular thought or idea of his. He would labor unceasingly to get to the root of things by asking the most basic questions of purpose and structure. I began to see the necessity of the minister's being able to transcend the present moment and to step back and look at the less obvious as well as the more conspicuous aspects of a situation. To achieve this it is imperative that he be equipped to delve below the surface of discussion and to at least somewhat understand the theological and philosophical implications and assumptions that lie underneath. Through discussions with Clark and others and through my reading and reflection I had many opportunities to forge and sharpen some theological tools of my own to aid in this vital process.

Having said this, however, I must rush on to add that I have come to the conclusion that neither theology nor philosophy is the vehicle of the truthfulness of the faith. If this were the case Christianity would have died a long time ago. I say this in part because in the local church I met people who were "turned on" by the faith but who held what I considered to be impossible theologies, and people with fairly sophisticated theologies who could not care less about either their faith or their world or their fellowman. Again I must mention the importance of the community of acceptance and encouragement as the place where people find hope and a new life. Here, within this context, theology is invaluable in helping people make some sense of what is happening to them, but theology itself is unable to cause that "happening" to occur.

My internship also helped me to gain a much deeper appreciation of the Bible as the Word of God. Reflecting back upon my first few weeks in the program I can see that I regarded the Bible primarily, if not solely, as a book of inspirational literature and thought-provoking, even though often contradictory, theologies. While it is this, of course, the power of its truthfulness far transcends these more academic considerations, and I am especially appreciative of the fact that I could not help being confronted with this realization on numerous occasions during the course of the year.

My understanding of and appreciation for the Church was also modified during the past year. Again, looking back to the beginning

of my internship, I saw the Church as an ideal human community, if not in practice, at least in theory. Needless to say, it caused me much anguish and frustration to continually have to face the fact that we are never quite able to measure up to that ideal, and the anguish and frustration would not diminish one iota until I began to realize that the Church was never meant to be an "ideal community" in the first place. It was a real breakthrough for me to come to the realization that ideals are the projections of men, and as such they are often far from the work of God, if not in direct contrast to it. Indeed, it is often necessary for the Divine to "burst" our ideals, even our religious ideals, in order to open us up in faith to His purposes for us. I have come to believe, therefore, that the Church as a humanly defined ideal community is just one more barrier to such faith and dependence, and the shattering of the illusion that this ideal either should or could be effected is the work of God. I suppose that I had labored under the notion that the Christian is called to be perfect rather than obedient. Anyway, I am now coming to believe that the Church is that community of people whose task it is to strive to be, not perfect, but open to others, to themselves, and to the will of their Creator.

It is also becoming more and more evident to me that the minister is not the Church, though we in the ministry are tempted to think so at times. "The priesthood of all believers" must continually inform and influence everything that the minister does. He should consider his preaching, teaching, counseling, and whatever as means to the end of enabling laymen to become priests to each other and to the world. The minister himself cannot, and should not, become involved in every worthy cause that comes by, and there are many. However, if the laymen of the Church have a sense of mission and if that sense is *cathected*, they will become the servants to the world and do more than a minister or a whole group of ministers could ever do.

Tools Are Forged

It probably goes without saying that I have been very pleased with the tools for ministry that I began to forge during my internship. There are, moreover, several categories or areas of ministry in which I feel that certain marked improvements have at least begun to take place and should be mentioned if only briefly.

I feel much more confident in the pulpit now and even look forward to entering it, which was not the case a year ago. My sermons have become much less academic and theoretical and are much more

realistic and applicable than they were earlier. In conjunction with the preaching opportunities that I had I was also able to observe both Clark's preparing and delivering his sermons. This also proved to be an educational experience of no little merit since much could be learned from him with regard both to content and to style of delivery.

I also think that I am much better equipped to plan and to lead a service of worship. This is due to a large extent, I am sure, to the fact that I now have a much better understanding of and appreciation for what communal worship is all about. I was extremely fortunate in that in addition to the regularly scheduled traditional communion services we also had a monthly contemporary service, which utilized modern forms of music, and whose primary focus was the more eucharistic and celebrative aspects of life and worship. This type service necessarily called for quite extensive planning and coordination not only by the ministers and staff but also by the worship and music committees as well. The discussion precipitated among the laity centering around the nature, purpose and form of worship and communion proved to be quite stimulating and thought-provoking for all concerned, and it certainly forced me to think through certain questions relative to these concerns which I had not taken the time to think through earlier.

Probably one of the most important tools that I began to forge during the last year is the ability to meet people where they are theologically and experientially. For a while I would get upset at some of the people's lamenting Clark's and my not wearing white shirts in the pulpit or the style of our haircuts or some other concerns which I considered to be unimportant, but then I began to see that such concerns as these actually reflected where these people were in their understanding of the ministry, the Church, and its mission. Once I began to understand this I became more able to see an open door through which I could enter for what often turned out to be quite fruitful discussion and dialogue. Needless to say, this proved to be much more helpful than merely wishing that they held other beliefs.

I also believe that I have gained a greater skill and confidence in the area of home and hospital visitation. Once I began to realize that I did not have to explain away pain and suffering or justify their existence I could visit in the homes and hospitals, be myself, and perhaps a little hope and comfort would arise because of my having

been there. I began to see that we are really not helped by the easy solutions that are given to us. What we need are people who are patient enough to wait with us and allow us to find our own answers. Here is where real hope is nourished and comfort experienced.

I was fortunate enough to have quite a bit of teaching experience during the past year. Clark and I worked together on many and various programs in which we were concerned to experiment with different forms and methods of teaching: lectures, visual aids, dialogue sessions, encounter groups, etc. All of these experiences certainly helped to broaden my horizons and provide me with a certain amount of insight into both the importance and the technique of teaching in the local church setting. I had never had much teaching experience, and I found these opportunities to be very interesting as well as tremendously informative.

Because of my intern year in the local church I have begun to appreciate more and more the joyous and celebrative aspects of the Good News. We Christians, I think, should be the unashamed celebrators of the gifts of life and resurrection. This belief, I am sure, has reflected itself in all of the attitudes and skills developed in Boca Raton. The sermon should be intended to give hope and help provide strength for life. The worship service should be viewed as an opportunity to rejoice in God's graciousness. Because life is good and people are O.K. we are freed to talk to one another about whatever it is that bugs us. The hospital is not just a place of sickness but a place to rejoice that God will never forsake us. The freedom afforded by the faith that God loves us and that all of His creation is good opens all kinds of doors for creative educational programs. The funeral is a unique opportunity for affirming life even in the face of death.

While there are many other impressions and conclusions about this past year's experiences which I could share, I trust that I have been able to give here a brief but accurate report and assessment of some of the things that strike me as having been most important. The internship year in a parish church was an important, formative experience for me. I believe it could be equally profitable for others who are planning to enter the parish ministry.

The Overseas Mission Internship as an Enterprise in Theological Education

by LARRY E. ADAMS

Abel T. Muzorewa is a small, affable, determined man who was just coming into office as the first African bishop of the Rhodesia Annual Conference of the Methodist Church in 1968. At that time, when I arrived in Salisbury as Duke's representative on a pilot Overseas Mission Internship program, Bishop Muzorewa was trying to solidify his position as leader of the nation's largest black Protestant church. Those were not easy days for the new bishop of Mashonaland, for he faced what seemed to be insurmountable odds—bickering among his own people who had supported other candidates for bishop, long years of the black man's conditioning to a role secondary to that of the missionary in church administration, intimidation by the Rhodesian Front government which threatened in many ways to interfere in the internal affairs of the church, and economic conditions which left his annual conference dependent on outside support as a "mission field."

Today, less than four years later, Bishop Muzorewa has emerged as the major political spokesman for the vast African majority in Rhodesia. All African nationalist leaders up until this time have either been incarcerated in "detention centers" or have been forced to remain silent by constant surveillance and the threat of imprisonment. As chairman of the young African National Council, formed to organize resistance to the proposed *detente* between Britain and Rhodesia, Muzorewa has brought the ANC to surprising strength in a very short period of time. Although he will probably be prohibited from leaving Rhodesia to attend the 1972 General Conference, as he already has been ordered not to enter the "Tribal Trust Lands" in which his congregations are located, and although he may soon face

Larry E. Adams, class of 1971, is a minister of Broadmeadow United Methodist Church, Jackson, Mississippi.

detention without charge or trial, the little bishop will greatly influence the shape of Methodism in southern Africa as well as the political future of Rhodesia. The open turmoil in Rhodesia today was still beneath the surface while I was there, but it was seen as inevitable by black and white alike.

Did a seminary internship in Rhodesia change my thinking about African politics? Yes. Did experience with the Board of Missions influence my ideas about what the nature of the church's mission really is? Yes. Can it honestly be said that such an internship is theological education? Yes. Did the year's work as an intern help prepare me for the actual work of a pastor? Undoubtedly. Needless to say, however, the internship as a learning experience can not be predetermined to the same extent as a lecture course or a structured seminar might be. One can enter an intership program with certain ideas about the "curriculum" he is to study, but in fact the real content of the course, whether related or not to his original expectations, will always come as a surprise. And so as a preface to a review of the work I did as overseas intern, and the educational value of such a program, I think it wise to mention some of the expectations I carried to Africa.

Motivation and Expectations

When I arrived in Salisbury, Rhodesia offered an atmosphere of political suspense and the reality of a church in transition from the status of Western paternalism's child to that of an independent witness to the meaning and mission of mature Christianity. Both of these elements would appeal to a young theological student's spirit of adventure and quest for the faithful church. But the excitement of the time and place was not my only reason for being there. There was an unabashed desire to travel, to get away from school for a year—and this desire could be stated in educationally sound terms. There was a real curiosity about what the missionary, that paragon of altruism, really did overseas—and this desire could be stated in language acceptable to the Board of Missions. There was the intensely personal realization that all my own theological systems and puritanical codes were about to fall apart, and the knowledge that a year abroad could help me to get things together from a distance. There was a long-standing interest in Africa, which was being increased at that particular time in American history by black America's consciousness of its African heritage, and its self-identity as Afro-Amer-

ica. In addition, I was motivated in part by an inquisitiveness regarding church-state relations in Rhodesia. In 1968 the United States and Rhodesia were both involved in struggles for social and political change, and both were experiencing contests between conflicting ideologies of change. By what means should change come about? I believed that I had something to learn, as an American, in observing the method by which the church in Rhodesia vocalized the call for change.

Basically, however, I chose to spend a year on the overseas mission internship not because it afforded me the opportunity to go *somewhere*, but because it allowed me to go to Africa in particular. I contend that considerations about the relevance to my future ministry as a pastor in Mississippi played an important role in my decision to participate in the program. Many areas of Mississippi, the context of my own pastoral work, are more than fifty percent black. It was my desire to have an extended period of contact on a close interpersonal level with men and women of the Negro race. I had black friends in America before I went to Africa, but I also felt that these friendships were formed and nurtured under peculiar circumstances. That is to say, I felt that my relationships with black people were always the result of structured attempts at being friends. A certain spontaneity and genuineness were lacking. Hopefully, the experience in Rhodesia would enable me, having successfully broken through racial prejudices and cultural barriers there, to do the same in my own homeland. I was optimistic enough, and still am, to hope that soon a minister in Mississippi will have the freedom and the conviction to consider himself a minister to all segments of the population. I did not want my ministry to suffer from isolation, provincialism, and ignorance; I wanted some experience in interracial and cross-cultural relationships which my own environment had simply not afforded.

Finally, I chose Africa—especially Rhodesia—because the overarching social problem in southern Africa is the same racial conflict which characterizes the southern United States. I subscribe to the doctrine of human nature which claims that it is always easier for us to observe sins and foibles in others than it is for us to see them in ourselves. The apartheid type of racial separation and discrimination in southern Africa was so notorious that practically any American could recognize its inadequacies. I observed that type of segregation on the assumption that in many ways it would show definite resem-

blances to racism in Mississippi, and that by studying the phenomenon in Africa I might come to a clearer understanding of the factors involved in racism in America. Furthermore, I saw the likelihood of discovering important things about my own racism.

These goals all sound rather lofty now. Perhaps I was rather lofty then, too. That was before any experience which could dull the idealism typical of seminarians. I might have been naive, to be sure, but I did carry certain hopes and expectations with me as I entered upon the internship. And these goals were rather clearly related to the future context of my ministry in the States, as I saw it at that time. This fact contributed to my conceptualization of the internship as a natural and purposeful extension of my academic preparation for ministry. I shall return to an evaluation of the educational worth of the program, but first you deserve to know exactly what the overseas work entailed.

Format and Function

The Overseas Mission Internship was a joint venture of the seminary and the World Division of the Board of Missions of the United Methodist Church. Seminarians finishing their middler year were recruited to intern abroad for one academic year. The intern, who lived on a subsistence salary while overseas, was to spend about two-thirds of his time working on the field, with the other third devoted to study and writing. Many different hopes motivated the project, including the conviction that the experience would be of great importance in broadening the perspective of students involved; the hope that the church overseas might realize some advantage from the student's work, and his sharing of current seminary trends in the U.S.; the desire to improve the image of the Board of Missions and change the stereotype of the missionary, as well to interpret the Board's work to the local church in America; and the idea that the student's experience and new perspective might benefit his American seminary during his final year of study.

My own assignment, supervised by a Duke professor on the academic level and by a missionary on the field work side, began in August and ended in May. During the first semester of my stay, I worked at Nyadiri Methodist Centre, a mission eighty miles north-east of Salisbury. I taught Old Testament, English, and Commonwealth History in a teacher training college there, floundering through the maze of a bewildering British educational system. On weekends

I shared in preaching responsibilities for the English service at the mission church, occasionally assisted the Christian Education worker in leadership training programs, and visited other mission centers. During the spring semester, I resided at Epworth Theological College, an ecumenical seminary training African ministers, on the outskirts of Salisbury. At Epworth I studied the history of African tribal religions, and tutored a class in Christian Education. The experience of living with the nationals, in the rather new setting of urban Rhodesia, afforded me the opportunity to experience Africa in a way not familiar to the career missionary.

Perhaps this excerpt from a diary I kept will convey a feeling for Rhodesia as I experienced it:

"Saturday, October 5th—Today Mutambara Methodist Centre is celebrating its sixtieth anniversary. Since Mr. Eriksson was pastor here for ten years, he was invited back for the day. He asked me to come with him to drive. Mutambara is 210 miles from Salisbury and fifteen miles from the Mozambique border. It is in a picturesque valley between high mountains, and borders on the home village of Chief Mutambara. The events of the day were impressive. The pageantry which all peoples love is accompanied here by a grave dignity. Today we heard a sermon by the bishop and a greeting from the chief, congratulations from missions of other denominations, a brass band concert, a goat-meat and sadza feast, tribal dancing, netball, classroom and science lab exhibits, and ceremonies honoring the elders of the tribe. Tonight we picked up the World Series on Armed Forces Radio."

Every day was not as eventful as that day, perhaps, but every day did bring new experiences. By the time the school year ended and I was ready to return to the States, I had seen much of Rhodesia, visited many churches and community ministries, acquired many friends, and grown to love Africa. I hope that I am not being too immodest in saying that I think I had made a contribution to young people I knew there. They certainly had enriched my life tremendously, and the year had been a meaningful adjunct to my theological education. I shall attempt to describe how this is so.

Reflections on Relevance

It is difficult, of course, to remember those experiences of four years ago and 10,000 miles away without idealizing or romanticizing them. Nor is it possible to write an article on "Things I Learned in

Rhodesia," for the elements in that year's eventful agenda that affected me most powerfully could well have wrought their impact on me subconsciously. But charged with the responsibility, as I am, of commenting on the educational worth of the internship, I must try to isolate its effect on me. If education can be seen, in its basic sense, as change—change in behavior, change in ways of thinking or believing—then the internship was a significant educational experience. The changes of attitude I sense in myself follow no logical or chronological sequence. They simply become evident, as ideas that were born during that year, but which did not surface until last year or today.

Change has occurred, for instance, in the arena of political awareness with what might be called a radicalization of political stance. The opening paragraph of this article, which dealt with the imminent political crisis of Rhodesia, in which Bishop Muzorewa is involved, demonstrates this interest. One has the distinct feeling, after being in Rhodesia for a time, that regardless of the efforts made in human development among the African people there, until they enjoy greater civil and political rights no real progress can be made. Separation of church and state may well be *legal*, but it is neither ontological nor theological. I suppose I am saying that we can not allow the "systems"—political, social, or economic—to operate unilaterally and unchallenged by the Word of God. When we realize that political organizations are not supra-human bodies, but manifest the humanness and lostness to which the gospel speaks, then we can look more meaningfully at our task of bring the Word of God to bear on the needs of men.

Such a change in my understanding of the mission of the church resulted naturally in alterations to my ecclesiology. The church cannot be a part of the system it opposes. Its values and goals cannot be identical with those of middle America, for instance, or with the general operating principles of "Western civilization." The faithful church cannot be oriented toward "success" or self-preservation. Its goals cannot be those of growth, financial autonomy, Americanization of the world. Rather, the Christian church must incorporate in its own life the revolutionary love of God as received through Christ. It must be self-spending and serving in nature. One could truthfully say, then, that the overseas internship did more to prepare me *not* to work in Southern Protestantism than it did to encourage traditional forms of ministry here. I meet daily with real difficulties in

church polity and administration. I constantly question the direction in which the institution is going; I am dissatisfied with its system of values, which represents the only model for appropriation by most churchmen. I don't fit into the church program very well; I frequently try to decentralize and personalize and simplify the work of the church. To some degree, I am disoriented as far as the church's priorities are concerned. But I am more comfortable in saying that I am re-oriented rather than disoriented.

Changed attitudes about the nature and the mission of the church lead to a changed self-understanding as a Christian. Perhaps the most noticeable change brought by the overseas internship is my unwillingness to be identified primarily as a Mississippian or an American. I note that I am more objective in evaluation of United States foreign policy, and more able to look at issues from international perspective than before. Identification with peasants in Bangla-Desh or Sarawak will never be completely possible; but empathy with them is much more a possibility since this experience. At the moment, concepts such as "my country," or "my people," are very vague indeed, while a basic restlessness and a desire to consider myself citizen of the world is growing. I can understand something of the identity crisis experienced by a career missionary who returns to America upon retirement

Frankly, these changes were not planned or foreseen. They were not built into the "curriculum" of the internship. On the other hand, some of the original objectives in the program were realized. Personal goals were not completely unfulfilled. For example, I went there hoping to glean insights from comparing and contrasting the racial patterns in Rhodesia to those in my native Mississippi, which I had chosen as the context of my ministry. To a great degree, this kind of comparative analysis was achieved, with the result that I could design a personal style of ministry in my own situation. This kind of comparison represented real assistance in my educational preparation for ministry.

The comparison of social, economic, religious, and political aspects of racism in southern Africa and the southern United States, begun during my stay in Rhodesia, formed the basis of a "Ministering-in Context" paper written during my senior year in seminary. The purpose of the MIC project was to utilize the observations and self-understanding gained through the internship in structuring a proposed style of ministry for my own use in Mississippi. Since I am

only now settling into that context, I will not be able to evaluate for some time yet just how feasible and effective the proposed style of ministry proves to be. But in the sense that it provided me with a degree of self-confidence, hope, and direction, I consider it a major facet of my seminary education.

"... It Was a Very Good Year"

The lyrics of an old song are about the only words that come to mind as I seek to evaluate the internship. I am certainly unqualified to judge the internship *per se* as a context for learning, for I do not know the standards by which to measure it. I am not sure I know what the intended dynamics of a "good" internship are. I remember getting so excited about what I was doing, and the people with whom I was working, that I was annoyed by requests for reading reports, internship progress reports, and the like. Couldn't academia allow an internship to stand on its own feet, without expecting term papers and reports from the intern? Doesn't the internship have merit of itself, divorced from the routine accompaniments to a senior seminar? Aren't the on-the-spot reports both premature and puerile, with real reflection possible only later?

Perhaps some reminder of the university must always be there. I really have no complaints and no regrets about the overseas mission internship. I still consider it the best investment of time I have ever made. No doubt it is a good thing that learning during that time cannot be measured, for to do so might be to put to shame the other nineteen years of my formal education. I am filled with gratitude to Creighton Lacy, the man who introduced me to the opportunity for this internship; that person is a major part of my theological education. I am thankful that I was given a voice in deciding the location of the internship, for that fact increased its educational value to me personally. And I am pleased that, at last report, the Board of Missions was ready to talk whenever Becky and I decide to head for Rhodesia.

Clinical Pastoral Education: Education for Identity

by MELVIN D. DOWDY

He knew it. Something was happening deep within himself, changes which no myths or words define. The tide was going out. He was dying, without sadness. For it was good saying good-bye. It came as a surprise to him that saying good-bye was so good a feeling. He was going to be remembered, which is why it felt so good.

Two weeks ago, he doubted that anyone would remember. Sure, he had friends at church, friends at the club, but Butch, his half-blind mut, knew him more intimately than these. He had never married, no brothers or sisters—there were no real persons to be called friends. It seemed to him too late for making friends. Expecting nothing more, he called a Chaplain to request a brief memorial service at his death. It was a simple prescription, but Russ Martin, the ward Chaplain, was a different breed. Russ wanted to know who it was he would eulogize. Thus, the conspiracy of silence was broken. For the first time, he and another person talked about his death, as well as the life that brought him to it. One thing they shared in common: the quiet desperation of the lonely to be known and accepted for who one is. Both knew the resignation of living a secret, feelings too alien, it seemed, for understanding. They met one another on this common ground. And that was the difference.

During the two weeks that followed, he made a host of friends besides the Chaplain. He was known to every staff member and most patients on his ward. The service was prepared. Appropriate organizations, the bank, and his lawyer were notified. It was agreed that before he was too ill to move he would go home to feed Butch. On a Friday he went home, fed Butch, and, after a few hours, he loaded his twenty-two caliber pistol, shot his dog, buried him, and returned to Duke Medical Center. The next day he died. That week, Chaplain Russ Martin joined the nursing staff, a few patients, and some fellow ministers, to celebrate their friendship with Mr. Robert J. Thomas. (Journal Notes; Winter, 1971)

Through his relationship with this dying person, Russ Martin, a student in clinical training at Duke, confronted a frontier situation.

Melvin D. Dowdy, class of '70, has been an intern in the Clinical Pastoral Education Program. He is presently doing advanced work in the field at Duke Medical Center.

For the pastor there are often no given answers, no ready-made interventions. His understanding of himself as a person is his most valuable tool. This is nature of contemporary ministry, and clinical pastoral education is very concerned with developing these inner resources for creative pastoral responsibility.

I

A seminarian who had a flare for exaggeration remarked that Duke was built from the exterior inward, with more concern for magnificence than for interior facilities. He spoke in jest; yet we could accurately observe that theological education at Duke has struggled to create a balance between the exterior competency of informed theological discipline and the interior competence of the pastoral function. Clinical pastoral education is one effort toward a balanced education. CPE is offered in a variety of institutional settings which support a functioning religious ministry. Theological students and graduate clergy are the primary professionals supplying this ministry, while certified supervisors direct their training. The internship year has been an important mode of CPE for several students and recent alumni, of which I am one.

The average student seeks clinical pastoral training to accent his theological sophistication with greater awareness of self and an understanding of the pastoral dimension. He expects a more meaningful integration of his theology with his pastoral response to the human predicament. The student wishes to understand how he functions in crisis, as well as the typical ways in which he presents himself in everyday life. Reaching the end of an identity moratorium, the CPE intern seeks a professional identity congruent with his own person. In this sense we might say that clinical pastoral education is education for identity.

Clinical pastoral education also provides opportunities to acquire professional skills under the supervision of accredited ACPE supervisors. Well over half of those persons facing a personal crisis seek the interventions of clergy. Counseling with married couples, families, and the bereaved are the specialties of pastoral care, and clinical pastoral education prepares clergy for these functions. Through selected readings, verbatim accounts of crisis situations, case histories, and unstructured peer group discussions, the student is exposed to a wide range of clinical problems and explores the most effective means of intervention. From his experiences with supervisors, peers, in-

stitutional staff, and the patients assigned to him, he develops an integrated view of human nature, taking into account theological, psychological and sociological determinants. Furthermore, it is hoped that the student will develop his own style and strategies of pastoral intervention, a style congruent with who he is as a person. For those who wish a more specialized ministry, continued training leads to competency and leadership in three major fields: institutional chaplaincy, pastoral counseling, and the teaching ministry as a supervisor. In these ways we might say that clinical pastoral education aims for professional competency.

Historically, the two major currents were founded in the 1920's, when Anton T. Boisen and Dr. Richard C. Cabot initiated their debates. Boisen was concerned with the therapeutic benefits of pastoral training and developed the pastoral function through the "living human documents" of patient-pastor relationships. Dr. Cabot emphasized the specialized skills appropriate to institutional ministry and developed through clinical training "the art" of ministry to the sick and dying. The aims and methods of clinical pastoral education have since focused upon these two currents and the contemporary standards represent a synthesis forty years in the making. This paper views clinical training from the former point of view, education for identity.

Through clinical pastoral education a new model of the clergyman has emerged. He is a man who has found himself in the mirages of professionalism. He is a man in the process of becoming aware of himself. He has considered very seriously the professional style best suited to his unique capacities, and he is not abashed by the real motives which have determined his vocational choice. He has found a balance between his own self-interest and the altruistic concern for others. He applies his theological insights to the vicissitudes of interpersonal contracts and the life processes of relationships. He is not dependent upon external criteria to validate the significance of his profession, and, therefore, he is free to struggle, free to fail, and free to claim his successes. In short, he is a man whose convictions are intrinsically related to his sense of self and his own religious life. These are the ideals cultivated in the clinical pastoral milieu.

II

The process of education for identity may be summarized in four fundamental operations: evaluation, authority, self-interest, and activity. First, the prospective CPE intern confronts a series of eval-

uative situations. His application for admission requires him to organize a personal and religious autobiography, giving special emphasis to formative persons and events. A personal statement of philosophy is another tool to lay bear the critical issues of his past and the growing edge of his present situation. Before entering the program, the applicant suggests his own educational objectives and professional needs which prompt his application. Finally, a screening interview is required during which several supervisors may raise new issues or clarify conflicting statements to be resolved by the internship.

This process of evaluation through self-disclosure is highly valued in the clinical situation. Gradually, the student develops an internal radar that constantly scans his experience for problem areas. He learns to seek directions through his understanding of the problem itself.

Many clergymen are answer-givers because they are answer-seekers. The clergyman who operates this way constantly risks the abrogation of meaningful dialogue with problem situations, including the troubled persons within them. Religious formulae resemble mathematical equations in that one can employ them without ever understanding why they yield a result. If there is a good result, there is no way to learn its usefulness to other situations or to evaluate the results to the right of the equation marks.

In the training context, this type of clergyman finds the situation of not knowing what to do so tormenting that he becomes lethargic. He will do nothing but wait in self-abasing uncertainty. As he learns not to fear failure and not to value the right performance as an end in itself, a new freedom to experiment and explore replaces his lethargy. This is the doctrine of *sola gratia* in education. Acceptance and recognition are not dependent on giving the right answer or a good performance. One is only required to struggle and examine himself.

Second, clinical training stimulates the search for an authority based on one's own initiative and judgment, similar to Roger's concept of "the wisdom of the organism." One learns to value his own perceptions and his own criteria for judging what is important. He may discover that many of his attitudes are not his own, but are introjected values of significant persons. Much of what he does, including his vocation, may be fulfilling the life-scripts and expectations of parents, brothers and sisters, the home minister, a teacher,

etc. The point is that he learns his motivations are not based on his own authority always, but on external sources of authority.

Students display a variety of attitudes toward authority, each of which represents a point in the process toward autonomy. One student was neither free to struggle nor to fail, ridden with great fears about his self-initiative. With uncritical submission he accepted naively and absolutely the prescription of powerful figures. He passively complied with almost any norm offered by the supervisor. Gradually, he began to struggle, but still he could not fail. He was far more critical, often trying to undercut the authority of the supervisor by attacking assumptions, ideas, etc., but never confronting the supervisor as a person. Next in his process, he uncritically defied all authority. He generalized his rejection of authority to all norms and suggestions made by the supervisor, though he could not explain why he was so fervently at odds. He was angry and could verbalize his feelings. The perpetual struggle with the supervisor was as much a bondage as it was freedom; actually, he had to fail or lose face. The supervisor was still the determining person in the relationship.

This process continued until the student experienced the supervisor as an equal. He grew comfortable with his own abilities and aware of his motives for new alternatives. He gained the freedom to struggle as well as to fail without self-effacement. He could claim his own powers without a submissive or defiant dependency on the supervisor. He set his own self-expectations, and pleasing others at his own expense was negatively valued. He was, nevertheless, able to accept others and to be sensitive to their needs because he had accepted himself. This process is suggestive of Erich Fromm's thesis that one cannot love others until he first learns to love himself.

The same thesis applies to the third operation, self-interest. Genuine self-interest is the capacity to discover what is most immediate, sensuous, particular, concrete, and personal. When uninhibited by social proscription, self-interest is the most spontaneous form of learning. Anyone who has observed an infant discover his hand has encountered self-interest in its most basic form. Like the young infant, self-interest is constantly reaching, grasping, exploring new objects because they simply feel new and novel to one's experience. Education for identity does not intend to indulge the student in infantile narcissistic acting-out. But there is much to be learnt from the primitive forms of self-interest.

Through self-interest the student discovers what Whitehead defined as the creative impulse, the realization that what has intrinsic interest is the matter-of-fact. And what is more matter-of-fact and taken for granted than the self? Scratch the surface of a student who is bored with life and dissatisfied with its attendant responsibilities and you will find one who has not cultivated an interest in self. His sense of adventure is concealed by layers of instruction in the familiar and tried; wonder is held in silence; surrender is bound in the fear of self-discovery. Exploring, experimenting, experiencing—self-interest is the central instrument of real learning. Without it we emerge as Sam Keen puts it:

I had a profession but nothing to profess, knowledge but not wisdom, ideas but few feelings. Rich in techniques but poor in convictions, I had gotten an education but lost an identity.¹

Because self-interest places us in touch with what makes sense to us, it always leads to self-discovery and self-disclosure. Gradually, a new degree of personal honesty, intimacy with others and acceptance pervades the range of personal and professional relationships.

Clinical training educates men to evaluate problems, to claim their own authority, and to develop genuine self-interest. Men are taught to feel as well as to think. They are also educated to act, which is the fourth operation of the clinical process. Clinical pastoral educators are not interested in unbridled feelings, the exhibitionism of momentary sensations as ends of themselves. CPE seeks to improve the conduct as well as to stimulate the personality of the clergyman. Evaluation, authorization, and feeling cannot exceed the deeds of the clergyman unless he wishes to be a professional without purpose. Action is the ultimate goal, as well as the cardinal rule for meaningful learning.

The truth is that until recently theological schools have been communities of dogma rather than of action. John Dewey's axiom, "We learn what we do," has been validated as much by the failure of dogmatic education as by the new success with experiential learning. Jean Piaget, the foremost educational mind of this century, sees the person's own activity as the most critical part of learning. Theologically, we say that one knows through obedience. The word "to know" in Hebrew is *yād'a*, which means to think, to feel, and to

1. Sam Keen, *To A Dancing God* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 40.

act. As the Talmud says, "Let not thy learning exceed they deeds. More knowledge is not the goal, but action."

The clinical process depends heavily on self-regulated activity. At Duke Medical Center the absence of structure amazes most students, and this situation is changed only by students' defining the order of the day—including when to go to the wards, how to best use their experiences through open-ended seminars—and by the creation of new learning opportunities such as a theological grand-rounds seminar. No one really knows, for instance, what a Chaplain is until he experiments with many different ways of conducting himself on the wards. Hopefully, by the completion of his training experience, a consciousness of a role of significance will come to characterize his professional style.

Clinical pastoral education has renewed the belief that within each of us is the capacity for genius, our own unique and unrepeatable contribution to life. Education for identity calls forth a new sense of faith; it requires our obedience to who we are and to who we are becoming, and it instills a conviction that life is good. There are far too many nihilists nowadays. If we are overwhelmed by life's difficulties and insensitive to its good, perhaps we have failed to be surprised by the good to which our struggles direct us. This is faith, the decision to be surprised by what is good and to act with renewed freedom and responsibility. Without the decision to be surprised, we are perpetually abstracting solutions to personal and vocational dilemmas, solutions which say nothing new about how to live. Without the decision to be surprised, our piteous innovations lead us back in failure to the same sad view of the world. Clinical pastoral education is one corrective in the direction of surprise.

III

Clinical pastoral educators may evaluate their contributions by raising the fundamental question: What is education, or, what is the purpose of education? Classically, education is not a body of knowledge to be conveyed, but a process, the goal of which is "to make men good." By this Plato defines education as the means for achieving the good life. Conflicting goals and values in education are managed by reference to the highest good. They are not to be found in the visible world but through apprehension of the eternal ideas. Attainment of the good life is impossible through objective apprehension alone; a process of personal commitment, "becoming in-

corporate" with the eternal dimension is required. Education is, in this high view, what one does and who one is after the acquisition of objective knowledge and after personal commitment to the true and beautiful. The basic element is an objective referent for the moral good, which aids deliberation among conflicting values and which provides the primary goal of education.

However, we who live in the modern world are neither certain of what the good life is, nor confident of its achievement in our time. This is not the moment when the promise of eternity motivates our sense of discipline. The vision of an objective good, especially a social order in the eschatological future, is no longer that clear, nor is any submission that dear to us.

We do not conduct ourselves in assured determination of our future. Rather, it seems, the future is in control, invading our present world-view with new horizons far beyond the wildest dreams. If it is dawn, it is perpetually dawn. Newness, novelty, change accelerated beyond the limits of human adaptation—we are mesmerized by the light of our own technological ingenuity. We are victims with "the disease of change," says Alvin Toffler, caught in the lag between "the pace of environmental change and the limited range of human response."² The principle of dynamic obsolescence which promised to replace the old with something new and better, also replaced a relatively stable conception of the world with the paralyzing view that nothing endures.

The paralysis is future shock. But it may be better understood as ontological shock—the engulfing awareness of threat to who one is, to the nature of his self-understanding and the meanings he attributes to existence. Toffler is only partially correct, for it is more than the limits of human adaptation that makes us vulnerable to accelerated change. It is the threat of non-being, the threat to our sense of an enduring, unconditional dimension which qualifies our existence in a way more infinite than ephemeral changes.

The obsolescence of everything through rapid change not only obscures our vision of the unconditional, it teaches us to withhold—in fear of error and disillusionment—our commitments to a moral good. Future shock is not predicated solely upon accelerated change, but upon the obsolescence of consensual moral commitments. Viewed in this light, Toffler's definition of education seems inadequate. Teaching men strategies for survival, strategies for regulating and planning

2. Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock* (New York: Random House, 1970), pp. 2-4.

change, does not offer a sense of the moral good to which individuals and society can commit themselves. What is needed to prevent psychological death at the cultural level are consensual moral commitments cultivated through stable community and living connection.

Toffler approaches this alternative through reference to "personal stability zones" which resist the change and stimulation of disconnection by the conscious conservation of our ties with the physical environment. Yet, he excludes the necessity of conserving our personal relationships through zones of enduring relational commitments. That this is less than tragic for Toffler is consistent with his identification of the moral good with the natural good, namely, adaptation and a limited concept of health. Educating men to choose the natural good—adaptation, survival, mental health—is not really an education for the moral good. For as Erich Fromm pointed out, this choice is "more apparent than real; man's real choice is that between a good life and a bad life."³

Clinical pastoral education is vulnerable to the same criticism. Practically speaking, the CPE-trained clergyman is freed from the model of the moralist for the model of the therapeutic agent. What is good, both for himself and for those receiving his services, is mental health. The most useful good is a stable personal and vocational identity. It is true that his self-definition assures him of more effectiveness as a leader and greater toleration of the instability experienced by parishioners; his own awareness may serve as a model for the growing self-awareness among laymen. Nevertheless, awareness, experience of acceptance, freedom from harsh moral demands do not comprise the moral good and they do not define the nature of the good life. Neither does the CPE method rely upon the presence of cohesive community to mediate the moral good; the community of peers and supervisors is only a source of stimulation and reflection. Its community does not exist for consensual commitments and, as a rule, does not take place in the context of the primary Christian community, the church. In the final analysis, supervisors function with a laissez-faire attitude toward the moral commitments of their students. Students are encouraged to believe that within themselves are the resources for values and the referent for the good life. It is, in my opinion, part of the insanity of our culture that educators rigidly hold faith in "the wisdom of the organism," expecting this Promethean

3. Erich Fromm, *Man For Himself* (New York: Reinhart and Company, 1947), p. 18.

Ego to secrete values as naturally as any ordinary bodily function.

A community of commitment is the medium of the moral good, based not on the natural good but on the joint commitment of creative intelligence, acting upon the natural good to produce a vision of life better than that out of which the vision arises. Values and a sense of the moral good do not rise out of the domain of private creativity, but in reference to concrete social situations. The defense of the human experience against the perils of change requires more than the willingness to regulate change, predict the future, or to form stable personal identities. It requires the maintenance of our living connections and the collective exercise of our creative talents toward new visions of the good life.

The task of clinical pastoral education is to revive the model of the moralist and to relocate itself within its primary community, the church. Here the clergyman must be committed to more than confrontation of present difficulties and the anticipation of future problems. His function as priest must merge with his function as prophet; he must engage the community in an active commitment to a vision of the good life supplied by the resources of eschatological faith. This means that training centers will be centers for the cultivation of utopian thinking leading to a pastoral program of institutional change—regulating, anticipating, and shaping the future forms of the church. The question is not *how* we shall accomplish this task. If we are willing to commit ourselves to it, we shall, as always, learn by doing.

Population Control Begins With You

by WILLIAM FINNIN AND DONALD HUISINGH

Planet Earth has been rightly compared to a spaceship. Like its Lilliputian analog, Spaceship Earth is equipped with limited supplies of potable water, food, and breathable air. Like a manmade spacecraft, Spaceship Earth maintains life through intricately balanced and complex combinations of life support systems which regulate oxygen and carbon dioxide levels, maintain close temperature tolerances, and degrade biological wastes. A fracture in any one of these delicately tuned systems could spell disaster on a space voyage. Spaceship Earth is so endangered. Imagine the drain on Apollo 11's life support systems had an additional astronaut (or two) stowed away on that historic voyage to the Moon. Today the intricate life support systems of our planetary spaceship bend under the burdensome pressure of additional passengers. Population pressures today produce environmental strains similar to the imagined stowaways on Apollo 11. Alternatives must be found to relieve this pressure lest we become a planetary spaceship on an aborted mission.

All across the nation responsible Christian laymen are asking, "What can I do to stop pollution, to halt the population explosion, to improve environmental quality?" And from across the country comes a battery of replies: organize, study, sponsor seminars and lectures on pollution, population problems, environmental degradation. But still the question arises: "What can I do . . . NOW?" Hopefully, that is what this article is all about. There are specific, action-oriented responses appropriate for reducing pollution and for halting the population explosion. If we correctly read the warning signs

William Finnin was during the academic year 1970-71 a Science and Technology Intern at Duke Divinity School associated with the University Program on Science and Society at North Carolina State University as a Research Assistant. Donald Huisingh is Associate Professor of Plant Pathology and Coordinator of the World Food and Population Crisis Task Force of the University Program on Science and Society at North Carolina State University, Raleigh, North Carolina. The article arises directly out of Finnin's experiences during his internship year.

displayed by our beleaguered environment we cannot fail to realize the time for concrete, decisive action is now.

It is important to see the implications of the population explosion on man's quest for space, for natural resources, for food, drinkable water, and breathable air. Anyone attempting to respond to the global problems of pollution and environmental exploitation must recognize the critical function of population growth in magnifying these problems. The population issue finds its way into every problem remotely related to either specific environmental insults or general environmental quality. Truly "the population bomb is everybody's baby!" To this problem we must seriously attend.

The Christian community is generally aware of the population crisis in the world. Nevertheless, both global and national dimensions need further exploration and clarification, particularly with regard to the ultimate environmental effects of unchecked population increase. As awareness of this crisis spreads within the Christian community, new directions and goals for responsible Christian engagements must be sought. Long an important educational reservoir, the Christian community must now broaden its understanding of environmental stewardship to include concern not only for immediate but also for long range prospects of population pressures and environmental decay. In the following paragraphs we suggest several areas of action and study which Christian individuals and groups should examine as alternatives in dealing with this crisis. These alternatives include questions of sex education, small family models as ideals, contraception, voluntary sterilization, and abortion. At the center of these issues, however, stands the preeminent goal of consciously limiting population growth. The contexts in which this goal takes shape are the triple communities of home, school, and church.

In Praise of Small Families

Not long ago large families were both social and economic advantages, indeed almost necessities. That time has now passed. We can no longer afford the social and environmental costs of a family structure based on the large family ideal. Long ago mankind fulfilled the Genesis injunction "be fruitful and multiply" (Genesis 1:28). We should now turn our attention and energies to building meaningful family relationships within contexts which are both personally fulfilling *and ecologically responsible*. Small families place

significantly less strain on environmental resources than their larger counterparts. Not only from the perspective of sheer numbers but also in terms of the goods and resources required to maintain multiple-child families, the food required and the wastes discarded, small families must be affirmed as environmentally responsible.

In communicating with our children and with those of others, we should realize that our attitudes and actions have far-reaching influences upon life styles of these emerging generations. It is, therefore, our responsibility to communicate the positive value of the single-child family, the two-child couple, and the childless marriage as well as the option of some to remain unmarried. Families desiring more than two children should see that adoption provides a responsible avenue for personal satisfaction, environmental concern, and Christian responsibility.

If we are serious about the population explosion and its negative effects on our natural and social environments, we must leave no avenues of action untested. This includes, for example, critical evaluation of United States' tax policy and its relation to population growth. Currently, our government supports an increasing birth rate, high fertility, and large families through a tax structure of deductions, incentives, and allowances favoring large families. The tax structure is weighted heavily against both the unmarried adult and the childless couple. We must reorder our taxing priorities. It is time for Christian educators, politicians, governmental officials and citizens publically to criticize this irresponsible governmental encouragement of population growth.

Several possibilities for constructive response have been proposed. First, the present system of tax deductions and incentives could be eliminated or reversed, thereby placing the burden of population growth on those directly creating the burden. Second, instead of deductions for having children, incentives might be given for small families and to couples who choose to adopt children. Furthermore, we should consider increased taxes for families who exceed two or three children and move immediately to suspend tax allowances for children exceeding two. So as not to penalize children already born, such taxing policies should apply to all families with conceptions after the date of enactment. On the incentive side, each woman might be granted a bonus, in the form of cash, savings bonds, or tax

refunds for each year she does not conceive.¹ It is time our nation developed an integrated program of tax incentives and family planning education designed to curb the explosion of human populations.

Bury the Stork

It is a fallacy of our modern age to take for granted that persons with the capacity for reproduction understand the biological processes which provide that capacity. To assume young people (and many adults for that matter) possess accurate information about human reproductive processes invites a host of social problems. Not the least of these complicating social factors are illegitimate births, venereal diseases now at epidemic levels in the United States, premarital conceptions, unplanned or unwanted pregnancies within marriage, and the physical as well as psychological dangers of illicit abortion. Parents, schools, and churches must jointly share responsibility for basic biological and hygienic education. Few adolescents accept at face value the "myth" of the stork. They quickly interpret an adult's hesitancy to answer questions about human sexuality to imply that normal, healthy human relationships are somehow dirty and immoral. The Christian parent, church member, and educator share clear mandates to embody loving concern for the natural curiosity of young persons seeking the biological facts of life. Our young people's education is woefully incomplete if it does not include thorough and frank exporation of the totality of human sexuality, including information about the use and availability of contraceptives for male and female regardless of marital status.

Furthermore, straightforward presentation of information about the dangers and methods of prevention and control of venereal diseases is especially critical at this age where the search for truth seldom departs from experience *and* experiment. Failure of parents, church, and teachers to communicate accurate information about normal biological functions at times when this information is initially sought and needed may well frustrate attempts to communicate at more intimate levels as the adolescent matures.

To Conceive or Not to Conceive

Conception control has long been a means of regulating family size. Recent developments have considerably increased the deci-

1. Kangas, L. W., "Integrated Incentives for Fertility Control," *Science*, 169 (25 September, 1970).

sional freedom of couples desiring to limit the number and to control the spacing of their children. Because of breakthroughs in contraceptive technology, one might argue that unwanted conceptions are increasingly without justification. Unfortunately, an estimated 20 to 30% of all pregnancies in our nation still begin with initially unwanted conceptions.²

The Christian community shares a measure of responsibility for informing persons about and educating them to the use of contraceptive methods as well as for insuring the economical availability of contraceptive devices to all who wish to have them. Historically, the church has abdicated responsibility for this type of education or opposed it. By placing the burden of contraception education squarely on the shoulders of the medical profession when not rejecting it, the Christian community has isolated itself from a critically important realm of Christian decision-making at a time when constructive educational responses are necessary. We see a clear need for the Christian community—including parents, educators, ministers, physicians, and other concerned persons—cooperatively to participate in family planning responsibilities. Such activities would help substantiate the Christian community's claim that they are relevant to their societies' real needs.

Voluntary Sterilization: Radical Option in Population Control

With growing frequency individuals are choosing surgical methods of contraception. Vasectomies for men and tubal ligations or laprescopies for women are now medically accepted means of controlling the number of children a couple conceives and of eliminating the potential for unwanted pregnancies. The Christian community must examine these contraception techniques from perspectives of responsible personal decision-making and their social implications.

Surgical contraception, voluntarily sought, need not be problematic for the Christian Community. Sterilization of the husband, wife, or both after they have produced the desired number of children may be regarded as an appropriate way for them to limit their reproductive capacity. Voluntary sterilization provides an option for personally dealing with a mounting social problem, too many people. The decision to be sterilized demands a type of commitment not required by the employment of temporary contraceptives. Today, in an

2. Bumpass and Westoff, "The 'Perfect Contraceptive' Population," *Science*, 169 (18 September, 1970).

age when new sexual norms are emerging, such a choice may be interpreted as an appropriate expression of committed social concern.

As the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare reports, voluntary sterilization of women after one or more births has effectively halted the population spiral in crowded Puerto Rico. It is worth noting that this trend developed without official encouragement or approval. In this island territory, the physicians themselves initiated discussions with their patients about tubal ligations and hysterectomies as effective means of limiting fertility. *Post partum* operations in Puerto Rico, vasectomies and ligations in other countries are performed free or for nominal charges. In this way those whose economic conditions can least bear the burden of an additional child have access to this form of family planning.

In contrast to these instances of open encouragement of sterilization as a contraceptive technique, many doctors in the United States rebuff patients requesting sterilization for contraceptive purposes. This reflects the pro-natalist posture of American medical education. Christian doctors, aware of the dangers of overpopulation, should engage their colleagues in critical evaluation of this seldom stated principle in American medical practice. The medical profession, because of the intimate relationship it shares with those who seek sterilization, bears special responsibility for initiating and supporting attitudinal changes regarding this contraceptive alternative.

We feel constrained, however, to sound a single cautionary note on this subject. Although we stress the positive potential of this component in population education, the key to its *implementation with integrity* rests on the dimension of free choice embodied in the term *voluntary*. To be sure, the ambiguity which surrounds this qualifying adjective cannot be eliminated in one brief statement. Our word of caution is stated to emphasize the threat to personhood such an approach poses if removed from the realm of personal decision-making and placed in the hands of an insensitive institutional structure. Before such a method can be commended as a component of national or international population control policy, the Christian community must critically consider the dangers of the possible politicization of this potentially beneficial tool. On an informal, voluntary basis, however, surgical sterilization provides a safe, sure, and morally responsible means of regulating fertility.

To Be or To Abort: Unpacking a Dilemma

For the Protestant Christian, unfettered by Roman Catholic natural law theory, the subtle problems of willful violation of human life do not occur in discussions of population control until the topic of abortion arises. Sex education, small families, contraception, and voluntary sterilization may be convincingly argued and firmly supported as acceptable, indeed essential, elements of a responsible population program. For some the question of abortion is simply a medical question, for others a burning political issue, and for still others a critical moral problem. To be sure, there is no single unambiguous point of view promising to resolve all questions the abortion debate has generated.

It seems that the more personally abstracted from an actual abortion one is, the simpler it is to theorize about its limits and to resolve the problem itself. The Christian decision-maker cannot afford this kind of simplistic abstraction. Involved in any decision to abort are several human lives, lives often in conflict. First, we must consider the physical and mental health of the pregnant woman. We must then account for the partner in conception, the dimensions of responsibility he will or will not assume. Too often the role of the physician is excluded from consideration in the decision-making process; informed choice cannot allow this. Finally, we must account for the life *in utero*. This nascent life brings these persons together to consider the possibility of abortion. To exclude any of these parameters from an abortion decision is both unwise and irresponsible. The degree to which one emphasizes the rights of the pregnant carrier (as most reformed abortion statutes tend) over those of the fetus (as Roman Catholic Church Law dictates), or vice versa, will determine the shape and outcome of the final decision.

The Christian is thrust into the forefront of public discussion on the abortion issue. Because he understands himself and his community as responsible for the totality of human life, he understands illicit abortion as both a social menace and an acute health danger. In New York alone more than 35,000 women requested and were granted legal abortions during the first five months of that state's new abortion law. A justified assumption is that significant portions of those women would have sought illicit practitioners had not the New York legislature reformed old laws. The reform of abortion statutes can be a vehicle of active Christian involvement. Legalized abortion

can facilitate responsible use of medical technology and of Christian ethical principles. The Christian parent, teacher, legislator, and civic leader must take personal and social responsibility to study, to question, and to explore the subtle complexities the abortion issue raises. The Christian community should bring the decisional guidelines of serious Christian ethical reflection to bear on this problem.

Although this is not a call to support unrestricted legal abortion as a means of population control, neither is it a plea for its uncritical rejection. The Christian is called to support that set of alternatives which gives most adequate expression to the positive value of *all human* life. At the same time he is mindful of conflicts which inevitably arise between lives standing in opposition. Some of these conflicts will require difficult decisions only ambiguously informed. Even from these the Christian doctor or lawyer, pastor or laymen must not recoil but must dare to decide.

Conclusion

We have briefly outlined several areas of concern in which environmentally sensitive churchmen can become active either as individuals or as groups. We have approached the complex of issues relating to preserving our limited and already strained environment from the perspective of the meaning of the population explosion on "Spaceship Earth." We have suggested four areas of positive, constructive action in home, school, and church. Furthermore, we have invited Christian study and reflection on an issue which divides many but which has critical relevance to all, abortion. This article is merely a beginning, an outline for thought and action, a first step. Too often the Christian community is left behind or left out completely of the critical issues of the day. Whether to preserve internal harmony or a sense of stability, the church has often withdrawn itself from arenas of controversy. We live today in an age of increasing complexity, the effects of which are often perplexity and confusion on those very facets of life which command attention because of their importance to all. Simple, unambiguous decisions about good and evil, about right and wrong are perhaps luxuries of past, simpler days. Because the population bomb is everybody's baby, it also belongs to the Church. We mean to respond constructively to this "bomb threat." Anything less assures a course of social suicide instead of environmental harmony.

Relations With Southern Africa: Test of U.S. Integrity

W. DOUGLAS TANNER

In the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique in southern Africa, half a million whites dominate a black population of more than twelve million. Control from Lisbon has resulted in a drastically inferior economic, educational, and political status for these Africans, increasing numbers of whom are turning to guerilla warfare as the only hope of altering their condition.

Between Angola and Mozambique lies the former British territory of Rhodesia. Prior to the Universal Declaration of Independence led by Ian Smith in 1965, Rhodesian blacks, who comprise ninety-five per cent of the population, were definitely under white domination, but possessed probably the best opportunities for improving their lot of all of the native populations in white-controlled southern Africa. Since UDI and the advent of the repressive Smith regime, however, their position has steadily deteriorated.

On the southern-most tip of the continent lies the bastion of white supremacy; it is the Republic of South Africa. South Africa's policy of apartheid—complete racial segregation euphemized as “separate development”—has evolved as its solution to “the problem,” clearly articulated by then Prime Minister Verwoerd in 1963:

Reduced to its simplest form the problem is nothing else than this: “We want to keep South Africa White. . . . “Keeping it White” can only mean one thing, namely White domination, not “leadership,” not “guidance,” but “control,” supremacy.”¹

Blacks in South Africa are subjected to the most severe discrimination by the Republic's legal system itself, being barred from

W. Douglas Tanner, Class of '72, is a member of the Western North Carolina Conference of the United Methodist Church. His paper arises out of a Church and Society Internship year as a research assistant for the Democratic Study Group.

1. Quoted by John G. Dow, M.C., “Statement to the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Agriculture on the subject ‘South African Sugar Quota,’” May 3, 1971, p. 2.

voting, residing in parts of the country, forming trade unions, even from job advancements. And as though such a situation were not abhorrent enough in one country, South Africa has extended its apartheid policies to the adjacent area of South West Africa (also known as Namibia for which it received an international trusteeship from the United Nations in 1946).

In Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, South Africa, and South West Africa all together, there are thirty-six million nonwhites ruled by a white minority of four and a half million. Currently, the only hope for nonviolent change is in the status of South West Africa, the total population of which is less than one million.

The United States has joined the rest of the world in U.N. condemnations of the prevailing situation in southern Africa. In August of 1963 the U.S. banned the sale of military equipment to South Africa and joined in a U.N. resolution calling upon all nations to cease the sale and shipment of equipment and materials for manufacture and maintenance of arms and ammunition in South Africa. We have continued to denounce apartheid, imposed economic sanctions on Rhodesia, supported the creation of an ad hoc U.N. committee to study the problem of South West Africa, deplored the 1966 Pretoria trial of Namibian freedom fighters, and attempted to exact guarantees from Portugal that military equipment supplied to that country as a result of the NATO alliance will not be used in Africa. Official rhetoric on the central issues involved in the southern Africa scene has been eloquent. Present Secretary of State William Rogers has vowed:

The U.S. will continue to stand for racial equality and self-determination. We will help to provide economic alternatives for the small independent states in southern Africa. . . We take our stand on the side of those forces of fundamental human rights in southern Africa.²

On Feb. 18 of last year, President Nixon stated:

Clearly there is no question of the United States' condoning, or acquiescing in, the racial policies of the white-ruled regimes. For moral as well as historical reasons, the United States stands firmly for the principles of racial equality and self-determination.³

2. Quoted by Charles C. Diggs, M. C., *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, 91st Congress*, May 20, 1970, p. 155.

3. Quoted by David D. Newsom, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, *Hearings*, May 20, 1970, p. 159.

In African eyes, however, what we have not done speaks more clearly than what we have. We have not broken our economic ties with South Africa or with the Portuguese colonies; to the contrary, United States investment in these areas continues to grow, strengthening the white-controlled economies and thereby weakening the position of the liberation movements as well as the effect of international diplomatic pressures against minority rule. The State Department continues to declare that "Despite our abhorrence of apartheid and its attendant repressive measures, we do not believe the situation existing in that country (South Africa) is a threat to international peace and security,"⁴ and the U.S. delegation to the U.N. has resisted all efforts to declare the situation in southern Africa a threat to peace within the meaning of the U.N. charter. We have continued to maintain completely normal, "friendly," diplomatic relations both with South Africa and with Portugal, operating satellite tracking stations in South Africa and supporting the Portuguese military with NATO assistance. We have given no support to the liberation movements and have steadily decreased our aid to the black African nations, some of which are presently under an added financial strain from attempting to care for thousands of black refugees from the southern part of the continent. Although a move in the current Congress came closer to success than had previous efforts, the United States Government has not yet even terminated the sugar quota which South Africa receives, a type of foreign assistance which could easily be re-distributed among the small independent black nations in southern Africa to play a significant role in their economic development.

Given the seriousness of the southern Africa situation—Waldemar Nielsen has aptly described it as a "smouldering catastrophe"—this lack of adequate response on the part of the U.S. is tragic and frightening. That we have allowed its existence to lead to the rapid decline of our image among black Africans forces the concerned citizen to ask why the U.S. has failed to throw this albatross from around its neck. Someone has succinctly stated the reasons as being that the racist regimes are "white, supposedly anti-Communist and rich";⁵ add to this an awareness that American policy toward Africa has often been

4. Quoted by Ogden R. Reid, M. C., "Statement before the Committee on Agriculture on Extension of the Sugar Act," *Hearings*, May 3, 1971, p. 7.

5. Kenneth Carstens, "The Churches on Trial," in George Daniels, ed., *Southern Africa: A Time for Change* (New York: Friendship Press, 1969), p. 75.

the tail on the European kite and the description is unfortunately both accurate and adequate. United States-southern Africa relations offer the social ethicist a well-equipped laboratory for study. He has a classical opportunity to examine how the moral problems of capitalistic greed, ideological rigidity in the form of fanatical anti-Communism, and racism are responsible for the present U.S. posture. And for the American, the study is more than an academic exercise; for it has become increasingly clear that it is in his ability to overcome these very problems that the future hope of his country's domestic tranquility and international security lies—and in his inability, its doom.

To ascertain the extents to which each of these factors is responsible for the present U.S. stance vis-a-vis southern Africa is probably impossible, for the three are often present in a mix that makes it difficult to distinguish each from the other. However, to see that these factors, when taken together, have exerted a predominating influence is all too easy—as is the disastrous nature of the results.

Evidence of U.S. economic interest governing its diplomatic relations with Africa emerged as early as 1935. In that year, Mussolini invaded Ethiopia and the League of Nations voted sanctions against the aggressor; the U.S. not only continued trade with Italy but increased it.⁶ More recently, when world reaction to the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 (when sixty-nine black persons peacefully demonstrating against South Africa's pass laws were mercilessly killed and two-hundred and fifty-seven others injured by police gunfire) threatened South Africa's economy and hence the stability of the Nationalist regime, several major U.S. banks formed a consortium to secure South Africa's credit. In the following decade, investment by U.S. companies, including many in such basic industries as transportation, oil, rubber and metals (which South Africa needed to develop for self-sufficiency in the event of international sanctions) rose from \$286 million to about \$800 million.⁷ The American investor has often proven to be an all-too-willing pupil of the "advantages" of apartheid espoused by the South African government, as the cheap labor it provides has made the rate of return on South African investment average twenty per cent per annum—double the rate for foreign investments throughout the rest of the world.⁸

6. Enoc P. Waters, Jr., "Our Horse and Buggy Policy in Africa," *Ibid.*, p. 86.

7. *Newsweek*, May 29, 1971, p. 80.

8. Larry Bowman, "South Africa's Southern Strategy and Its Implications for U.S. Policy," *International Affairs* (London), January, 1971, p. 27.

Resistance to the liberation movements having become quite costly, in 1965 Portugal lifted her traditionally tight controls over investment in Angola and Mozambique in an attempt to compensate, hoping that Western nations would respond, invest, and thus develop a stake in continued Portuguese rule. Cabinda Gulf Oil, a subsidiary of America's Gulf Oil Co., was quick to heed the call and has now invested hundreds of millions of dollars in opening the Cabinda oil field.⁹ In the spring of last year, an application by General Electric Co. for permission to provide \$55 million for financing a transformer for the Cabora-Bassa Dam being constructed in Mozambique was being considered by the United States Export-Import Bank. Knowing that the construction of this dam and the electrical power it will produce will undoubtedly strengthen Portugal's, South Africa's, and Rhodesia's hold on black southern Africa, the Organization for African Unity Summit Conference in 1970 categorically condemned the Dam project; as a result of accompanying pressures, both Swedish and Italian support for the Dam was withdrawn. Yet General Electric will probably be allowed to finance the transformer, and will give another profitable measure of aid to exploitation, racism, and colonialism.

The fact that the U.S. persists in pursuing purely economic motives even on those rare occasions when Western European countries cease belies an often employed but weak excuse for U.S. economic ties with southern Africa, namely that there would be no chance of Western European nations following a U.S. lead in disengagement. It was U.S.—not British—banks that formed the credit consortium, and it was the United States that filled the gap in South Africa's sugar market by assigning her a quota one year after she withdrew from the British Commonwealth to avoid anti-apartheid pressures.

When the annual earnings of American corporations in South Africa exceeded the total value of all U.S. development loans to every country and program in Africa proposed in the Fiscal Year 1970 budget of AID,¹⁰ there could be little wonder over the erosion of American influence among black Africans over the last decade. George Houser stated the case for disengagement in a recent article pleading for a boycott of the apartheid regime:

American policy towards South Africa is looked upon by the rest of the world as the measure of the United States' sincerity in espousing freedom

9. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

10. Victor Reuther, *Hearings*, p. 94.

and equality for all men. The policy will be found wanting as long as American capital supports and profits from apartheid.¹¹

That the intolerable situation in southern Africa heads the black political agenda throughout the continent was evidenced by the 1967 vote of the Organization for African Unity to give \$2 million of its \$3.5 million budget to various liberation groups.¹² That U.S. economic ties are viewed as helping to perpetuate the situation comes through clearly in the Lusaka Manifesto proclaimed by the Fifth Summit Conference of East and Central African States in 1969 and endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly:

... even if international law is held to exclude active assistance to the South African opponents of apartheid, it does not demand that the comfort and support of human and commercial intercourse should be given to a government which rejects the manhood of most of humanity.¹³

When matters of principle regarding southern Africa have impinged upon Washington, unfortunately they have been most often related to the warped concepts of fanatical anti-Communism and military security above all else espoused by the Cold Warriors. The fact that the white regimes are staunchly anti-Communist is taken as good reason for collaborating with them and looking upon them as excellent allies. General Mark Clark has stated that he is glad to see declared anti-Communists like the South Africans straddling the vital Cape Sea route.¹⁴ The late former Secretary of the State Dean Acheson was among the strongest exponents of regarding Portugal, Rhodesia, and South Africa as the best of foreign friends, even asserting that the U.S. should play no role in the international attempt to pressure South Africa into relinquishing its rule over South West Africa. Such counsel is receiving notable amplification with the arrival of the Russian navy in Indian Ocean waters, and the various white governments are doing their best to use that occasion as an opportunity for obscuring the long-standing issue of white supremacy in the minds of Westerners.

The net effect of racial oppression in southern Africa, however,

11. George Houser, "A Case for Disengagement," *Southern Africa: A Time for Change*, p. 26.

12. Cited by Sen. Edward W. Brooke, "Roots of Revolt," *Ibid.*, p. 6.

13. Quoted by Franklin Williams, *Hearings*, p. 8.

14. Quoted by Casey, Lane & Mittendorf in "Statement Submitted by the South African Sugar Association Concerning the Sugar Act Amendment of 1971 to Committee on Agriculture, House of Representatives, U.S. Congress," April 29, 1971, p. 10.

is a boom rather than a bane to international Communist efforts. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs David D. Newsom has acknowledged that the success of the Soviets and Chinese in making inroads into central Africa has African frustrations in southern Africa as a major cause.¹⁵ Likewise, the failure of the "free world" to assist the southern African liberation movements has left their leaders no choice but to depend on the Communist powers for military support, although they continue to make wide-ranging efforts to enlist Western backing. Franklin Williams, former ambassador to Ghana, testified last year before the Africa Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee that only a few years ago, "The men who fought for their freedom in Africa did not quote Lenin and Stalin, they quoted Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln and George Washington," but in the last decade we have wasted the good will we enjoyed on the African continent.¹⁶ If the United States should follow British Prime Minister Heath's lead in moving toward acceptance of racial injustice in southern Africa out of fear of mere Soviet *presence* in the Indian Ocean, it would spell the very end of black African respect for American integrity.

That Washington has been prone to hear the white clamorings over Communist encroachment and the need to maintain the Cape Sea route above black cries of their own oppression is in all likelihood an indictment not only of its Communism-phobia but also of its inherent racism. Although the latter is often difficult to pin-point and is camouflaged by the former, it is hard to believe that the United States would be so passive about such racial injustice against thirty-six million white people; it is impossible for black Africans to believe it. For many, their disenchantment with the U.S. and suspicion of racist motives began simultaneously in 1964 during the Congolese revolution when the U.S. permitted its air transports to be used to land Belgian paratroopers in Stanleyville to rescue white hostages. The charges of racism and attendant presumption of superiority ring true whenever apologists for present policies label proposed changes in U.S. relations with southern Africa as unrealistic, never facing how unrealistic it is to invite perception as a white racist nation in an overwhelmingly nonwhite world. The accusation is substantiated by the

15. David D. Newsom, "U.S. Options in Southern Africa," *Congressional Record*, Feb. 26, 1971, p. E 1169.

16. Franklin Williams, *Hearings*, p. 14.

fact that Africa has received less U.S. development aid than any other continent in the world save the polar ice-caps.

Such is the effect of present U.S. policy toward colonialism and racial injustice in southern Africa. The United States' moral and political credit with all of Africa is at stake. Also being risked is the ability of the U.S. Government to maintain any degree of allegiance to its moral and political ideals that is convincing to its own citizens of its integrity. Speaking in the context of disillusionment over the Viet Nam War, of the rising interest in African affairs exhibited by American youth and of present policy, someone has wisely asked us to consider whether the fabric of American society itself can stand the consequences of another situation in which large elements of the population feel the nation is committed to a fundamentally immoral line of policy.¹⁷

Whether Washington *can* become as concerned about the balance of justice as it is about the balances of payments and power is a question that remains. In its answer lies the future of the United States perhaps even more than does that of southern Africa.

17. Waldemar Nielsen, *The Great Powers and Africa* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969), p. 363.

Book Reviews

The Interpreter's One-Volume Commentary on the Bible. Edited by Charles M. Laymon. Abingdon. 1971. 1386 pp. \$17.50.

In addition to commentary on the books of the O.T., Apocrypha and N.T., this volume (hereafter cited as ICB) contains general articles (under the headings: Biblical Interpretation; Geographical and Historical Setting; The Making of the Literature; The Religion of the Bible; Text, Canon, and Translation; The Bible and Life); sections on Chronology, Measures and Money; 16 colored maps; and indices of scripture references and subjects. Black and white photos and sketched maps are scattered throughout, although they sometimes consume more space than seems necessary and may have been used as "filler."

The Preface states that the work is intended for ministers, laymen, college students, and "those who are unequipped to follow the more specialized discussions of biblical matters." There is no doubt that this will fill a real need, since there are those in each group mentioned above who are frustrated by the more technical presentation of ICB's reputable competitors, *The Jerome Biblical Commentary* (hereafter cited as JBC) and *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (hereafter cited as PCB). It avoids transliterations of Hebrew and Greek as well as the ubiquitous German technical terms so dear to the heart of the pedant.

Each topic is accompanied by a brief bibliography limited to English language titles that are commonly accessible, and periodicals are avoided. Discussion generally proceeds by sections of scripture, rather than by verses or words, which helps insure coherence and continuity.

The list of contributors includes several scholars of the first rank, but the editor is to be congratulated for including many lesser known scholars who are capable of bringing fresh perspectives to the material. There is a certain unevenness in the quality of the writings but this is to be expected in a work of this nature and it is evident in JBC as well.

Some topics in ICB not separately treated in its competitors: "The Early History of the Church"; "The Law Codes of Israel"; "Writing in Biblical Times"; "The Bible in Every Tongue"; "The Impact of the Bible on History"; "Teaching the Bible to Children"; and "Teaching the Bible to Youth and Adults."

Some topics separately treated in JBC but not in ICB: "Introduction to the Pentateuch"; "A Life of Paul"; "Religious Institutions of Israel"; "Pauline Theology"; and "Johannine Theology."

Some topics separately treated in PCB but not in ICB: "The Social Institutions of Israel"; "Textual Criticism of the N.T."; "Contemporary Jewish Religion"; and "The Life and Teaching of Jesus."*

* Some further comparative information

	ICB	JBC	PCB
date of publication	1971	1968	1962
cost	\$17.50	\$25.00	\$19.50
total pages	1386	1520	1126
cost per page	1.26 cents	1.64	1.73

(continued on next page)

Turning to some negative aspects of ICB, the bibliography often contains titles that are hopelessly outdated and should be avoided entirely (e.g., the ICC on Samuel). Much of it is to such obvious sources as *The Interpreter's Bible* and *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. (The former, on Genesis, should be avoided like the plague, incidentally.) It does not contain items dated beyond 1966 (when manuscripts were due from contributors?), and this is simply inexcusable for a work published in 1971. Many basic items in English have appeared since then (e.g., commentaries on Amos, Hosea, Ezekiel, Psalms, and Proverbs) and updating would not have been difficult. In some cases, basic items prior to 1966 have been omitted, e.g., Hertzberg's *I and II Samuel* (1964). Basic topics have inadequate bibliography, e.g., "The Bible and Preaching" has only 4 entries, 2 of which are utterly unrelated to the topic (cf. "Hermeneutics" in JBC). The article "Teaching the Bible to Youth and Adults" mentions such helpful tools as commentaries, concordances, dictionaries, and atlases, without citing a single specific example by title. Lastly, the bibliography is to general topics only (e.g., Genesis), rather than also for sections, verses, and words (cf. JBC). This is hardly justifiable, given the brevity with

which a one-volume commentary must treat the text itself.

In general, the commentary in ICB is reputable, despite its brevity. Among the stronger chapters are "Leviticus" (Jacob Milgrom) and "Deuteronomy" (Norman Gottwald), and in only two cases would I advise that consultation of another commentary might be helpful ("Habakkuk" and "Ezekiel"). I have not done extensive reading in the commentaries on the N.T.

It is in the General Articles (particularly under the heading Biblical Interpretation) that I encountered sustained problems. G. Ernest Wright's "The Theological Study of the Bible" begins with a central question: "How can the religious faith of biblical writers be interpreted and expounded in our time?" Unfortunately, the question is neither answered nor discussed. Rather, Wright presents some central biblical ideas and then concludes that "the bible must relate itself . . . to the world in which we now live." But even the bibliography which he provides is irrelevant to that end.

Wright's approach is understandable, despite his opening gambit, given his acceptance of the traditional definition of biblical theology as "properly a descriptive and historical discipline." But is it not this approach, normative at most seminaries, which has assisted in the production of

page size (inches)	6¾ × 9¾	7 × 10½	7¼ × 10¼
lines per page	68	71	79
type size (letters per page)	6,800	8,520	8,058
cost per million letters	\$1.86	1.93	2.15
maps	16 colored pp.	2 pp.	13 colored pp.
pictures	yes	no	no
General Articles	314 pp.	340 pp.	277 pp.
bibliography	English only	much French and German	some French and German
commentary on Apocrypha	yes	yes	no
commentary on Pseudepigrapha	brief	yes	no
cross-references	some	excellent	some

clergymen who are unable to relate the Bible to the contemporary world, despite the intent of the seminaries to do just the opposite? For an examination of the whole approach and an alternative educational model, see George Landes, "Biblical Exegesis in Crisis: What is the Exegetical Task in a Theological Context?" in *Union Seminary Quarterly Review*, 26 (1971), 273-298 (hereafter cited as USQR).

Floyd Filson's "The Unity Between the Testaments" repeats the traditional refrain that "The OT belongs to the church's canon only because it is a preparation for Christ and a witness to him." It is the word "only" which I find problematic in this assertion, for it reduces the OT from a pan-temporal Word of judgment and grace to an "unfinished story" of where history is going (in the subjective opinion of the early Christians, at least). Filson is honest enough to admit, as others who use this argument do not, that the NT is itself only a partial fulfillment (and he might add, only partially fulfilled in its own promises). That, however, does not diminish his enthusiasm for his position with respect to the OT.

His approach is part of the time-honored attempt of human beings to judge the Bible, to create a canon within the canon, rather than to be judged by and enter into dialogue with the totality. For a statement that the strength of the Bible lies in its diversity, and for a call for exegesis within a total canonical context, see Brevard Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis* (1970), with James Sanders' review in *USQR*, 26 (1971), 299-304.

When the book of Genesis proposes that man's desire for knowledge as a thing in itself and his refusal to accept any limits upon his existence brought the world to the brink of destruction, was it only making an observation about the past? When it pictures God as having exhausted ev-

ery alternative for man's rehabilitation, save the foolishness of calling Abraham to form a community of witness "through which all the families of the earth will be blessed," did it intend to relate history or also to address the present? Have we no need to hear the word of Isaiah that God will use Israel's most hated enemies to teach her a lesson in theology (or is He unable to speak through the Black Panthers or Viet Cong?)? Is the OT needed as a corrective to the historically conditioned "other-worldliness" of the NT? In sum, the OT is in the canon because it is a report of God's Word to the Church, apart from alleged "preparation" and "witness" to Christ.

The tendency not to take the OT seriously on its own grounds may be reflected in the relatively greater amount of space given to the NT in the various one-volume commentaries. Although the NT forms only about 23 per cent of the biblical material, commentary and related articles about it receive the following percentages of space: ICB, 42; JBC, 47; PCB, 40.

In other areas, the General Articles are generally good, and Samuel Terrien's "The Religion of Israel" deserves special mention.

In conclusion, ICB is a useful addition to the church library but is not recommended as a prime investment by the theological student.

—Lloyd R. Bailey

The Cambridge Bible Commentary on the New English Bible. Old Testament Illustrations by Clifford M. Jones, 189 pp., \$9.50. *The First Book of Samuel* by Peter R. Ackroyd, 238 pp., \$6.95. *Amos, Hosea, Micah* by Henry McKeating, 198 pp., \$6.95. Cambridge University Press. 1971.

We have here the beginnings of a new series of commentaries on the

books of the Old Testament, presumably including the Apocrypha, based on the text of the New English Bible. All volumes on the New Testament in the same series have already been published. The editors claim that the series is designed with "the general reader, teachers and young people" in mind. Each volume is available clothbound or in paperback. The prices quoted above are for the former.

Old Testament Illustrations is small quarto in size, hence the higher price. Two other introductory volumes, *Understanding the Old Testament* and *The Making of the Old Testament*, are being prepared. *O.T. Illustrations* is more than just a picture book with a few words of explanation thrown in. Indeed, more than half the space is taken up by discussions of the background of the Old Testament, geographical, archaeological, historical, social, literary, and religious. Since all these discussions are serious and competent, the pictures, which are necessarily black-and-white to keep down the cost, tend to become secondary in importance, though nevertheless helpful.

But, after all, this is a book *about* the Old Testament, and the series will stand or fall on its aid to the layman (and of course laywoman!) in confronting the text itself. So let us hasten on to *First Samuel* by Ackroyd (professor of Old Testament at the University of London; he lectured at Duke several years ago).

First, it is announced that the same author will also provide the volume on *Second Samuel*; thus there are certain anticipations in this volume. The introduction explains the place of the books of Samuel in the canon of Scripture, and the complicated process by which they came to have their present form. Ackroyd explains well how these books and others like them grew over a period of 500 years, in contrast to the making of books today. His best section is that on "The First

Book of Samuel as a Theological Work," in which he makes it clear that the book incidentally yields up considerable knowledge of ancient history, but that its basic intent is religious, and it must be judged on that basis and in terms of its own time.

The commentary proper is rather detailed. For example, the text of the Song of Hannah takes up about a page and a half of fairly large type, while the comments on it take up about three pages of smaller type. Obviously, with so much space at his command, a skillful exegete like Ackroyd is able to furnish considerable clarification of the text. He has failed, however, in certain cases of doublets or discrepancies to indicate an opinion on relative chronology or historical validity. Thus, of the two stories on "Saul at the Mercy of David" (chs. 24 and 26), which is the earlier and more historically probable? Or why does Saul fail to recognize David after his killing of the Philistine giant (17:55), although David had apparently already become Saul's harper and armor-bearer (16:21-23)? Or if we reverse the order of these stories, why did not Saul recognize his new harper as the former giant-killer? And should it not be said that Saul's séance with the witch of Endor occurred the night before his defeat and death (28:19)? For comments on these and related problems, the reader may consult the reviewer's treatment in *The Oxford Annotated Bible*.

Finally, we come to the third volume under review, *Amos, Hosea, Micah* by McKeating. The introduction is brief. The author thinks that most of Amos is genuine and was written down soon after the prophet spoke; Hosea is "a mixed bag" that shows evidence of considerable editorial work; the first three chapters of Micah are mostly genuine, but some of the rest is as late as after the Babylonian exile.

The literary and historical views

of McK. on Amos are more or less standard. In the first two chapters, the oracles against Edom and Judah are post-exilic insertions; the date of the one against Tyre is uncertain. The cosmological doxologies (4:13; 5:8; 9:5-6) may be late. The first four visions (7:1-9; 8:1-3) are not necessarily to be associated with the prophet's call. The fifth vision (9:1-4) probably does not refer to an earthquake. The happy ending (9:8b-15) is definitely exilic or post-exilic and "edited by southerners." Practically all the rest of the material is genuine.

Perhaps to be different from previous exegetes, McK. tries to avoid becoming too enthusiastic about Amos by branding the prophet as a "puritan," meaning a person who is somewhat narrow-minded and intolerant, a man from the country who becomes unduly upset at "civilized" life in the cities. This attitude leads McK. to take the view that the prophet was against the cult of shrines and sanctuaries in principle. The reviewer cannot agree with some of this, for he believes that Amos was a religious and literary genius, who was not against the cult so much as against the misuse of the cult and exclusive preoccupation with it at the expense of social justice.

The treatment of Hosea is more conventional. The hope oracles at the ends of chs. 1 and 2 are basically from Hosea, with a little retouching from later editors. All of ch. 3, except the phrase "David their king," is accepted. Likewise, 11:8-9, which negates all the foregoing and following oracles of doom (such as 13:16), is claimed for Hosea in the usual sentimental manner, in spite of the fact that we now know for sure by hindsight that the Northern Kingdom fell never to rise again. Nevertheless, McK. makes amends to a certain extent by finally admitting that 11:10-11 and 14:4-9 may be from a later age in Judah, when conditions had radically changed.

Coming to Micah, we note that space was running out. There is no special introduction; reference is made to the general introduction. The commentary is brief and follows standard critical lines for the most part. The first three chapters are essentially from the prophet, with the exception of 2:12-13, which is from the exilic period, when oracles of rehabilitation were in vogue and indeed necessary. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 are of similar hopeful import and similar date, and hence are not from Micah, who was "a prophet of doom." Chapters 6 and 7 are a mixture, but most of ch. 6 may be from the prophet, with some doubts about 6:6-8. 7:1-6 sounds genuine, though the rest of the chapter represents the thinking of a later age. Micah, like Amos, is considered a man from the country who castigates the sins of the cities. In this case, however, McK. does not label the prophet as a narrow-minded puritan; hence the reviewer goes along with him more on Micah than on Amos and Hosea.

The whole series seems to be a useful product at a modest price, and is to be commended.

—W. F. Stinespring

Priscilla, Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews and Other Essays. Ruth Hoppin. Exposition. 1969. 158 pp. \$6.00.

With zest and without apologies, Mrs. Hoppin argues for a woman as the author of scripture. Reviving Harnack's theory (E. Preuschen, *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*. Berlin: Forschungen und Fortschritte, 1900, vol. I, pp. 16-41), she adds recent evidence, develops her own case, and defends her conclusions. Bringing forth the other candidates—Paul, Clement of Rome, Barnabas, and Apollos, she disqualifies them. Describing Priscilla as the author, she summarizes:

She has a star pupil, Apollos, who can prove from scripture that Jesus is the Messiah. This is to be the theme of Hebrews. Unlike her student, she was converted by a man who saw and heard Jesus (Heb. 2:3). She knows Philo, who will influence Hebrews. At last she is re-united with her family in the upper stratum of Roman society. Literature, philosophy and rhetoric are all within her ken.

Eloquent like Apollos, she preaches the gospel. Fervent in spirit like him (Acts 18:25), she has given up luxury and noble status for trials—and high adventure—with Christ. These traits will be mirrored in Hebrews.

Priscilla stands in Timothy's circle (Heb. 13:23), as a corollary of her close friendship with Paul. Her marriage to Aquila is reasonable as well as congenial and they share a ministry in Ephesus. Pen and papyrus in hand, Priscilla is ready to write a letter. On her desk is a *testimonia* book to aid her (p. 71).

Written from Rome in 65, the letter was addressed to Ephesus to former Essenes who had become Christians. Priscilla and Aquila had accompanied Timothy on his visit to Paul. Away from her home community, Priscilla was worried about its falling into apathy and apostasy while the leaders were absent. Much of her argument depends upon time and place, especially upon the historicity of parts of II Timothy. Her dating of the letter is quite early. Yet the pieces do seem to fit together as well as many of the other hypotheses that have been proposed in answer to this puzzle. Each of her arguments could be treated more thoroughly. Without formal training in Biblical studies, Mrs. Hoppin does an admirable job with both primary and secondary sources.

Perhaps Priscilla did write Hebrews. If so, we could ask why in the early church her contribution was not acknowledged. Why did she not sign

the letter just as Paul would have done? And further, we must ask why so few commentators have considered Priscilla as a viable candidate for authorship. Even if the weight of evidence points to Hebrews as anonymous, we should be able to admit that "Anonymous" or "Unsigned" may have been a woman.

The shorter pieces in the work are the musings of an involved laywoman. Their concern with issues such as prejudice, prayer, the Reformation, and women is an interesting addition.

—Martha M. Wilson

The New Testament Christological Hymns: Their Historical Religious Background. Jack T. Sanders. Society for New Testament Studies, Monograph Series, 15. Cambridge University Press. 1971. 162 pp. \$11.50.

Sanders has performed two useful tasks in this book. He has first (Part I) brought together and assessed the evidence for perceiving earlier Christian hymns underlying the texts of Philippians 2:6-11; Colossians 1:15-20; Ephesians 2:14-16; I Timothy 3:16; I Peter 3:18-22; Hebrews 1:3; and the prologue of the Fourth Gospel. While certainty about such matters can scarcely be attained, one can agree that probability lies on the side of the existence of such hymns as Sanders, on the basis of a wealth of earlier analyses, proposes.

In the second place (Part 2) he has attempted to restate the theory of a pre-Christian Gnostic redeemer myth (usually associated with the name of Rudolf Bultmann) in the light of these hymns, taking cognizance of the lack of clearly pre-Christian Gnostic sources on the one hand and of the presently evident possibility of a relation between Gnosticism and some forms of sectarian Judaism (esp. Qumran) and Jewish Wisdom speculation on the other. Since the basis of

Bultmann's hypothesis of a pre-Christian Gnosticism in the research of his students is little enough known, Sanders makes some contribution in making it accessible to the English reader. Fundamental to Sanders' own work on the background of the hymns is his observation that they all contain (in more or less fragmentary form) a Christological myth beginning with pre-existence and co-creation, continuing through descent and death, and ending in exaltation. Of the existence of such a Christian myth as a common factor in these hymns there can be little doubt, although one may not be certain how discrete an entity it is.

I think it fair to say that Sanders' discussion of the historical religious background of the proposed hymns in terms of the scholars whose contributions have been prominent shows a tendency to ground the redeemer myth more in a Gnosticizing Judaism than in a purely pagan Gnosis (although, in fact, the hypothetical Gnosticism of Bultmann's *Johannine Offenbarungsreden* was already influenced by Judaism, as Sanders makes clear). Significantly also, Sanders speaks of a "developing myth" rather than one that was completely formed and simply adopted by Christians, and he provisionally leaves open the question of whether the myth crystalized in identifiable form as a redeemer myth—that is, with a central redeemer figure—in Christianity or at some pre-Christian stage.

In the Odes of Solomon and the Nag Hammadi Gospel of Truth and Apocalypse of Adam (Part 3), however, Sanders see evidence of a non-Christian redeemer myth which he obviously regards as significant, if not conclusive. The Odes are regarded

by Sanders as basically Jewish documents which have been subjected to Christian redaction. Sanders sees in the thanksgivings of what he calls the Jewish Wisdom School "the formal matrix of the New Testament Christological hymns." This finding coincides, as he puts it, "with the thesis that they represent a stage of developing myth which had its prior development in Wisdom speculation" (p. 136). Wisdom circles of Judaism are said to have provided the most convenient point of entry for redeemer motifs from other religions into Judaism.

Basic to Sanders' work is the premise that the concepts found in the New Testament passages under discussion were not created *de nova* by the Christian community (p. ix). This is not subject to doubt. What is, I think, subject to doubt is the implied premise that Christianity itself was not a fertile ground for the production of myth, if one chooses so to denominate the temporal and spatial Christological framework with which we are dealing. Could not the myth have as easily appeared initially in Christianity—whether orthodox or heterodox? While in this matter historical inquiry remains open to any finding which can be substantiated, Christian theology can remain equally uncommitted. There is scarcely any theological advantage to be gained in maintaining that this time-conditioned way of expressing Christ's significance was originally Christian—although it may have been. In our day certainly any apologetic advantage would lie in showing that such a dated mode of Christology belonged to the conceptual forms Christianity adopted from its environment.

—D. Moody Smith, Jr.



**THE
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REVIEW**

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THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL REVIEW

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Edited by a committee consisting of

Don E. Ferguson, Jr.

Harriet V. Leonard

D. Moody Smith, Jr.

W. Douglas Tanner, Jr.

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Editorial Committee: D. Moody Smith, Chairman; James R. Bailes,
Donn Michael Farris, Richard E. Gillespie, Roland E. Murphy, Ray
C. Petry, and Harmon L. Smith

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Foreword

When the Committee for *The Duke Divinity School Review* discovered that Don Ferguson and Doug Tanner of the Class of 1972 were undertaking to gather and reproduce bibliographies for themselves and their classmates, it decided that now was the time to fulfill a frequently suggested goal and compile a bibliography for our constituency. So the *Review* joined forces with them to produce this issue. The editorial committee sees in retrospect better than it had seen in prospect the difficulties of putting together a bibliography such as this and hopes that such inadequacies as it may have will not impede its usefulness. Responsibility for any deficiencies is to be laid at the door of the Editorial Committee. To those who freely contributed time and effort to produce the bibliographies which this issue contains we can only express unfeigned gratitude. We are particularly grateful to Professors Paul Mickey and David Steinmetz and to Mr. Christopher Morse, Visiting Instructor in Systematic Theology, 1971-72, for assisting us in soliciting and gathering the material.

The bibliography is called "unexpurgated" because the editors have, by and large, let it be what the various compilers and annotators, most of whom are members of the Duke Divinity School Faculty, have made it. What it lacks in evenness will, hopefully, be compensated for by originality and individuality. We do not claim comprehensiveness for the bibliography; indeed, comprehensiveness was not our aim. To begin with we hoped for brevity and succinctness, but when in some instances we were given more than we had asked for we simply gave thanks for that too and did not suffer one word or entry to be lost. Thus the careful reader will discern some slight overlapping.

In the sections dealing with the Bible we decided not to attempt to name the one best commentary for every book in the Bible. In some instances we named more than one commentary, in others none. Our readers, most of whom are alumni of this institution, will, we think, be glad to know whose recommendations they are reading. And most of them, at least the recent ones, will be sufficiently skilled in the perspectives and methods of exegesis to read the bibliographies and accompanying annotations with real historical understanding. We regret that not all members of the faculty are represented in this bibliography, but it is to be hoped this deficiency as well as others will be remedied in the future as the *Review* returns from time to time to this important bibliographical task. We are particularly regretful that Professor Stuart Henry's departure on sabbatical leave prevented his contributing a bibliography on American Christianity, but with his consent Ms. Harriet Leonard, Reference Librarian, has supplied one.

Recalling Emerson's dictum that a foolish consistency is the hobgoblin

of little minds, we have allowed some minor stylistic differences among the bibliographies to stand. The asterisk (*), which appears rather frequently, denotes a book available in paperback in America. Thus British paperbacks are sometimes noted without the asterisk.

—The Editorial Committee

Old Testament

Lloyd Bailey

I. ATLASES

A. General

Negenman, Jan. *New Atlas of the Bible*. Doubleday, 1969. Non-technical discussion, many useful maps, and beautiful photos. Especially useful for the Church library (less so for the theological student).

Baly, Denis, and A. D. Tushingham. *Atlas of the Biblical World*. World Publishing Co., 1971. Covers a much wider geographical area than most atlases; more detail upon weather, soils, flora, and commerce than most; excellent text, maps, and photos.

B. Historical

Aharoni, Yohanan, and Michael Avi-Yonah. *The Macmillan Bible Atlas*. Macmillan, 1968. Detailed treatment of the travels and battles mentioned in the Old Testament, with excellent maps and illustrations.

II. GENERAL AIDS (for the Church library)

Avi-Yonah, Michael, and Emil G. Kraeling. *Our Living Bible*. McGraw-Hill, 1962. A brief treatment of the major events of the biblical narrative (covers the entire Bible), illustrated by maps, photos, and items from archaeological excavation. Quite reliable and clearly written.

Chronicles: News of the Past. Reubeni Foundation. From Abraham to Ezra in newspaper form (news items, letters to the editor, classified ads, advertisements, etc.). Wide use of Ancient Near Eastern and Rabbinic texts as sources. Useful for youth.

Everyday Life in Bible Times. National Geographic Society, 1967. A spectacularly beautiful book, containing much material from earlier articles in *National Geographic*. Covers events from Abraham to Paul. Readable text by foremost scholars, striking photos of modern life, ancient monuments and artifacts.

The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Abingdon, 1962. 4 vols. The best such work in English. Articles on biblical persons, items, books, theological concepts, etc.

III. ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

The New English Bible. (With Apocrypha). Oxford, 1970. Especially recommended for clarity and accuracy (generally). An annotated

edition (extensive notes at the bottom of the pages, as in the *Oxford Annotated Bible* for the Revised Standard Version) will be published in the Fall of 1974 (Oxford Press).

IV. CANON

*Sanders, James. *Torah and Canon*. Fortress, 1972. The shape and scope of the OT text, the events which gave rise to its formulation, preservation, and reshaping, and the vexing question of authority (both ancient and modern) are examined. Written in non-technical language by an outstanding scholar and teacher, this will be one of the few books in the biblical field for 1972 which every clergyman should read.

V. ONE-VOLUME COMMENTARIES

Interpreter's One-Volume Commentary. Abingdon, 1971. More recent and readable (particularly for those who have difficulties with the technical terminology in the following two), but also more uneven in its scholarship.

Jerome Biblical Commentary. Prentice-Hall, 1968. Recommended.

Peake's Commentary on the Bible. Thomas Nelson, 1962. Rev. ed. A bit more dated and less detailed. These three are comparatively reviewed in the Winter, 1972, issue of the *Duke Divinity School Review*, pp. 48-50.

VI. COMMENTARY SERIES

Anchor Bible. Doubleday, 1964—. Usually philologically oriented (basically a new translation with notes), and hence much will be missed by those who do not know the biblical languages. Some volumes, however, can profitably be used without such knowledge (see VII. below). It has already made significant contributions to scholarship, e.g., the volumes on Genesis (Speiser), Psalms (Dahood), and John (Brown).

Hermeneia. Fortress, 1971—. A new series of high promise, to consist of some new commentaries and some translations of works already in print. No Old Testament volume has yet appeared.

International Critical Commentary. T. & T. Clark, 1896-1937. Covering Old Testament and New Testament (with a few books excepted). Its basic value is in textual criticism, and hence it will be most useful to those who know the biblical languages. Badly dated in most other areas.

The OT Library. Westminster, 1961—. Generally concerned with literary and theological problems, and can be of great use without knowledge of the biblical languages. Perhaps the best series, overall, to date.

VII. INDIVIDUAL COMMENTARIES OF MERIT

- Genesis*. (OT Library) Rad, Gerhard von. Cannot be overly praised for scholarly excellence and theological sensitivity. The best available.
- Sarna, Nahum. *Understanding Genesis*. McGraw-Hill, 1966. Recommended, for laymen or clergymen. Also in paperback (Schocken).
- Exodus*. (OT Library) Noth, Martin. More concerned with historical and literary matters than with theology.
- Leviticus*. (OT Library) Noth, Martin. Previous remark applies.
- Numbers*. (OT Library) Noth, Martin. Previous remark applies.
- Deuteronomy*. (OT Library) Rad, Gerhard von.
- Joshua*. (OT Library) Soggin, Albert.
- I-II Samuel*. (OT Library) Hertzberg, Hans.
- Terrien, Samuel. *Job, Poet of Existence*. Bobbs-Merrill, 1958. An excellent, exciting, relevant work.
- . "Job." *The Interpreter's Bible*. Vol. III. Also recommended.
- Dhorme, E. *A Commentary on the Book of Job*. Thomas Nelson, 1967. Verse-by-verse treatment.
- The Psalms* (OT Library) Weiser, Artur.
- Terrien, Samuel. *The Psalms and Their Meaning for Today*. Bobbs-Merrill, 1952. On a more general level. Excellent.
- Proverbs*. (OT Library) McKane, William.
- *Gordis, Robert. *Kohleleth* (Ecclesiastes). Schocken, 1968.
- Isaiah 1-12*. (OT Library) Kaiser, Otto.
- Isaiah 40-66*. (OT Library) Westermann, Claus.
- Ward, James. *Amos and Isaiah*. Abingdon, 1969. Covers selected passages and themes, with emphasis upon the theology of these prophets and its meaning for today.
- Hosea*. (OT Library) Mays, James Luther.
- Ward, James. *Hosea*. Harper & Row, 1966. (Now out of print.) Readable and theologically sensitive; unexcelled in English.
- Amos*. (OT Library) Mays, James Luther.
- Jeremiah*. (Anchor Bible) Bright, John.
- Ezekiel*. (OT Library) Eichrodt, Walther.
- Daniel*. (OT Library) Porteous, Norman.

VIII. INTRODUCTIONS

A. Entire Old Testament

- Anderson, Bernhard. *Understanding the OT*. Prentice-Hall, 1966. 2d ed. Fine for laymen and college undergraduates. Would make a good addition to the church library.
- Eissfeldt, Otto. *The Old Testament*. Harper & Row, 1965. The standard reference work.
- Gottwald, Norman. *A Light to the Nations*. Harper & Row, 1959. Fine for laymen and college undergraduates. Would make a good addition to the church library as an alternative to Anderson.

Weiser, Artur. *The Old Testament*. Association Press, 1961. A bit more detailed than Anderson or Gottwald, but less than Eissfeldt; covers the Intertestamental literature as well.

B. The Prophets

*Heschel, Abraham. *The Prophets*. Harper & Row, 1962.

C. Wisdom Literature

Brueggemann, Walter. *In Man We Trust*. John Knox Press, projected fall 1972. Compares Old Testament concepts with modern secularism, situation ethics, and the "death of God" movement.

*Murphy, Roland E. *Introduction to the Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament*. Liturgical Press, 1965. For laymen.

*Scott, R. B. Y. *The Way of Wisdom*. Macmillan, 1971. For clergy and seminarians.

D. Apocalypticism

Russell, D. S. *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*. (OT Library)

E. The Pharisees

Rivkin, Ellis. "The Internal City: Judaism and Urbanization." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 2 (1966), 225-240. Surpasses most other studies in clarity, originality, and fairness. Traces the adaptation of Judaism to new socio-political circumstances.

IX. ISRAELITE RELIGION

A. General

Ringgren, Helmer. *Israelite Religion*. Fortress, 1966. General treatment.

Terrien, Samuel. "The Religion of Israel." *Interpreter's One-Volume Commentary*, 1150-1158. Masterful.

B. Covenant

*Hillers, Delbert. *Covenant, The History of a Biblical Idea*. John Hopkins, 1969.

C. Messiah

Mowinckel, Sigmund. *He That Cometh*. Abingdon, 1956. Traditional and lengthy treatment.

Rivkin, Ellis. "The Meaning of Messiah in Jewish Thought." *Union Seminary Quarterly Review*, 26 (1971), 383-406. Brilliant, original, and readable.

D. History/Time

Childs, Brevard. *Memory and Tradition in Israel*. SCM Press, 1962. The Hebrew psychology of memory and its role in the contemporizing of the "past" is briefly examined.

- Gese, Hartmut. "The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East." *Journal for Theology and Church*, vol. 1, 1965.
- Muilenburg, James. "The Biblical View of Time." *Harvard Theological Review*, 54 (1961), 225ff.

E. Death

- Bailey, Lloyd. "Death as a Theological Problem in the Old Testament." *Pastoral Psychology*, 22 (Nov. 1971), 20-32.
- Brandon, S. G. F. *The Judgment of the Dead*. Scribners, 1967. The development of the idea of an afterlife.
- Gatch, Milton, *Death: Meaning and Mortality in Christian Thought and Contemporary Culture*. Seabury, 1969.

F. Myth

- Childs, Brevard. *Myth and Reality in the Old Testament*. SCM Press, 1960. For a different perspective, read Theodore Gaster, "Myth and Story." *Numen* 1 (1954), 184-212. Read both.

G. Man

- Eichrodt, Walther. *Man in the OT*. SCM Press, 1951. Centers on the role of the individual in light of the demands made upon him by the monarchy.
- Wright, G. Ernest. *The Biblical Doctrine of Man in Society*. SCM Press, 1956.

H. Ethics

- Muilenburg, James. "The Ethics of the Prophet." *Moral Principles of Action*. Harper, 1952. Edited by Ruth N. Anshen. 527-542.

I. Civil Disobedience

- Greenberg, Moshe. "Rabbinic Reflections on Defying Illegal Orders: Amasa, Abner, and Joab." *Judaism*, 19 (1970), 30-37.
- Shakolsky, Rinah. "Protest and Dissent in Jewish Tradition: The Prophets as Dissenters." *Judaism*, 19 (1970), 15-29.

J. Ecology

- Elder, Frederick. *Crisis in Eden*. Abingdon, 1970.

K. Hope

- Zimmerli, Walther. *Man and His Hope in the OT*. SCM Press, 1971. Concluding chapter on contemporary hope theology.

L. Monotheism

- Finkelstein, Jacob. "The Study of Man: Bible and Babel." *Commentary*, 26 (1958), 431-444.

X. HISTORY

A. Biblical

- Bright, John. *A History of Israel*. Westminster, 1972. Rev. ed. In comparison with Noth—more optimistic in his reconstruction,

more willing to accept the tradition as stated and to relate it to archaeological findings, but occasionally appears unable to escape orthodoxy.

Noth, Martin. *The History of Israel*. Harper and Row, 1960. 2d ed. Depends heavily upon internal literary analysis, is skeptical of correlation of text and archaeology, and occasionally appears subjective.

B. Intertestamental

Zeitlin, Solomon. *The Rise and Fall of the Judean State*. Jewish Publication Society, 1964-69. 2 vols. A reputable brief treatment can also be found below (Grayzel).

C. Jewish

*Grayzel, Solomon. *A History of the Jews*. Mentor paperback, 1968. rev. ed. Covers the period 586 B.C.-1948 A.D. Clearly written; by an outstanding historian. A highly recommended corrective to Christian ignorance and bigotry. Good candidate for the church library.

Rivkin, Ellis. *The Shaping of Jewish History*. Scribners, 1971. Those intrigued by Rivkin's exciting socio-political analysis of the Pharisaic movement (VIII,E.) will want to read this. Chapter titles range from "Patriarchs and Prophets" to "The Road from Auschwitz"; the sub-title accurately describes it as "a radical new approach."

XI. EXEGESIS

A. Goal

Childs, Brevard. "Interpretation in Faith." *Interpretation*, 18 (1964).
Landes, George. "What is the Exegetical Task in a Theological Context?" *Union Seminary Quarterly Review*, 26 (1971), 273-298.

B. Method

*Habel, Norman. *Literary Criticism of the Old Testament*. Fortress, 1971.

*Kaiser, Otto, and Werner Kümmel. *Exegetical Method, A Student's Handbook*. Seabury, 1963. Although intended for those who know the biblical languages, it can be profitably used by those who do not.

*Perrin, Norman. *What is Redaction Criticism?* Fortress, 1969.

*Rast, Walter. *Tradition History and the Old Testament*. Fortress, 1972.

*Tucker, Gene. *Form Criticism of the Old Testament*. Fortress, 1971.

C. History

The Cambridge History of the Bible. Vol. 1, ch. 5; vol. 2, ch. 6. Cambridge, 1963-1970.

The Interpreter's Bible, I, 106-141.

*Kraeling, Emil. *The Old Testament Since the Reformation*. Schocken, 1969.

D. The Relationship between the Testaments

Barr, James. *Old and New in Interpretation*. Harper & Row, 1966.

Basic. A penetrating criticism of the common position that, for the Christian, the Old Testament is incomplete, unfulfilled, and leads on to the New Testament. See especially ch. 5. See also the review of *The Interpreter's One Volume Commentary* (V) for a challenge to this position.

Childs, Brevard. *Biblical Theology in Crisis*. Westminster, 1970.

A call for exegesis within a *total* canonical context (as opposed to the arbitrary assignment of greater "authority" to some parts of it) is made by the author.

New Testament

D. Moody Smith, Jr.

I. GENERAL WORKS ON THE NEW TESTAMENT

A. Introduction in the Technical Sense

Kümmel, Werner Georg. *Introduction to the New Testament*. Trans. A. J. Mattill, Jr. Abingdon, 1966. The previous edition of this work, to which the names of Feine and Behm were attached, has been completely reworked by Kümmel to provide the standard introduction for our day. A model of thoroughness and judiciousness.

B. Introductory Survey

Kee, Howard W., Franklin W. Young, and Karlfried Froelich. *Understanding the New Testament*. 2d ed. Prentice-Hall, 1965.
Price, James L. *Interpreting the New Testament*. 2d ed. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1971.

C. Introductory Exegesis (See II, below, and "Exegesis" in Old Testament Bibliography.)

Spivey, Robert A., and D. Moody Smith, Jr. *Anatomy of the New Testament: A Guide to its Structure and Meaning*. Macmillan, 1969. Sustained treatment of representative New Testament texts.

D. History of Criticism and Interpretation

Cambridge History of the Bible. 3 vols. Cambridge University Press, 1963-1970. Edited by P. R. Ackroyd, C. F. Evans, G. W. H. Lampe and S. L. Greenslade, with contributions from many other noted scholars.

*Grant, Robert M. *A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible*. Macmillan, 1963. Published in 1948 under the title *The Bible in the Church*, this compact work is now available in paperback.

Kümmel, Werner Georg. *The New Testament: The History of the Investigation of its Problems*. Trans. S. MacLean Gilmour and Howard Clark Kee. Abingdon, 1972. Selected excerpts from the major works of modern critical scholarship provide a history and afford perspective for viewing the contemporary scene. Very valuable.

*Neill, Stephen C. *The Interpretation of the New Testament, 1861-1961*. Oxford University Press, 1964. Briefer than Kümmel's work, Neill's does not provide the excerpts from the works of earlier scholars. Nevertheless, his book is valuable for its perspective—

Neill is not a professional New Testament scholar—and for its treatment of English scholarship.

E. New Testament Theology

*Bultmann, Rudolf. *Theology of the New Testament*. 2 vols. Trans. Kendrick Grobel. Scribner's, 1951-1955. Interesting, exciting, and readable, if controversial, Bultmann's theology has not yet been displaced as the fundamental work in its field.

Cullmann, Oscar. *The Christology of the New Testament*. Trans. Shirley C. Guthrie and Charles A. M. Hall. Westminster, 1959. In some ways a conservative alternative to Bultmann, particularly on the question of Jesus' own self-consciousness.

*Davies, W. D. *Invitation to the New Testament*. Doubleday, 1966. An excellent popular treatment based upon a series of radio broadcasts. On most issues Davies steers a judicious middle course.

Kittel, G. and others. *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Trans. and ed. G. W. Bromiley. 8 vols. to date. Eerdmans, 1964—. A mine of information.

Schweizer, Edward. *Jesus*. Trans. David E. Green. SCM Press, 1971. The best succinct and comprehensive statement of the shape and development of New Testament theology as it is understood today. The German title "Jesus Christ in the Manifold Witness of the New Testament" conveys more precisely the character and content of the book.

II. EXEGETICAL AIDS AND SIMILAR TOOLS

(See "Exegesis" in Old Testament Bibliography.)

A. Grammars

Blass, Friedrich Wilhelm, and A. Debrunner. *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Trans. and rev. Robert W. Funk. University of Chicago Press, 1961. The standard work, complex and technical, but indispensable and authoritative.

Dana, Harvey E., and Julius B. Mantey. *A Manual Grammar of the Greek New Testament*. Macmillan, 1928. A very useful grammar for the person still learning Greek, as most of us are; well-written, well-planned, and even interesting.

B. Lexicons

Bauer, Walter. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Trans. and ed. William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich. University of Chicago Press, 1957. The standard work, very usable as well as useful.

———. *Shorter Lexicon of the Greek New Testament*. F. Wilbur Gingrich, ed. University of Chicago Press, 1965. An

abridgment of the standard work, for those who need the Greek meanings without the references.

*Richardson, Alan. *A Theological Wordbook of the Bible*. Macmillan, 1963. A worthwhile reference book for those who do not use the Biblical languages.

C. Concordance

Moulton, William F., and A. S. Geden. *A Concordance to the Texts of Wescott and Hort, Tischendorf, and the English Revisers*. 3d ed. T. & T. Clark, 1926. A standard work.

D. Texts

Aland, Kurt, and others. *The Greek New Testament*. American Bible Society, 1966. A very useful edition with clear, readable type, produced for the major Bible societies. This edition cites fewer variant readings than Nestle (below), but gives a more complete account of the witnesses for those cited.

Aland, Kurt, ed. *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum*. Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1964. The best Greek parallels now available, for most purposes displacing the earlier Huck-Lietzmann edition. Includes Johannine parallels.

Nestle, Erwin, and Kurt Aland. *Novum Testamentum Graece*. 25th ed. Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1963. Nestle has long been the standard working text of the Greek New Testament.

Sparks, H. F. D. *A Synopsis of the Gospels: The Synoptic Gospels with the Johannine Parallels*. Fortress, 1964. Sparks argues with good reason that the Revised Version offers a text better suited for displaying gospel relationships than the more popular RSV.

Throckmorton, Burton. *Gospel Parallels: A Synopsis of the First Three Gospels*. Thomas Nelson, 1957. Throckmorton uses the RSV text and follows the Huck-Lietzmann Synopsis in this widely used edition of gospel parallels.

III. HISTORICAL AND INTERPRETATIVE WORKS

A. Jesus

*Anderson, Hugh. *Jesus*. Prentice-Hall, 1967. A brief but informative guide to how scholarship has arrived at its present positions.

Bornkamm, Günther. *Jesus of Nazareth*. Trans. Irene and Fraser McKluskey with James M. Robinson. Harper, 1960. A judicious, careful and reliable treatment.

Brandon, S. G. F. *Jesus and the Zealots: A Study of the Political Factor in Primitive Christianity*. Scribner's, 1967. While the author's attempt to relate Jesus to Zealot movements is not altogether satisfactory, his book raises important questions.

Jeremias, Joachim. *New Testament Theology*. Vol. I. *The Proclamation of Jesus*. Trans. John Bowden. SCM Press, 1971.

An important new work by a scholar whose pre-eminence in research in the Semitic and Palestinian milieu of the New Testament is widely acknowledged.

*———. *The Parables of Jesus*. 2d ed. Trans. S. H. Hooke. Scribner's, 1963. The classic treatment of the subject and a good example of the positive uses of form and redaction criticism.

Keck, Leander E. *A Future for the Historical Jesus: The Place of Jesus in Preaching and Theology*. Abingdon, 1971. A vigorous argument for the importance of Jesus and of historical investigation of him for the Christian community and its faith.

*Keck, Leander E., ed. "Lives of Jesus Series." Fortress, 1970—. A series dedicated to the republication of important older works on Jesus by Reimarus, Strauss, Weiss, *et al.*

*Schweitzer, Albert. *The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede*. Trans. W. Montgomery with an introduction by James M. Robinson. Macmillan, 1968. A turning point in the history of life-of-Jesus research, Schweitzer (originally, published in German in 1906) is still worth reading, since the liberal Jesus whose impossibility he demonstrated is nevertheless still with us.

B. Paul

Bornkamm, Günther. *Paul*. Trans. D. M. G. Stalker. Hodder and Stoughton, 1971. A companion volume to the author's *Jesus of Nazareth*, Bornkamm's Paul will doubtless become a standard work.

Furnish, Victor P. *Theology and Ethics in Paul*. Abingdon, 1968. Not as comprehensive in scope as Bornkamm, Furnish nevertheless touches on most of the major aspects of Pauline theology in concentrating on the nexus of theology and ethics in the apostle's thought.

*Sandmel, Samuel. *The Genius of Paul: A Study in History*. Farrar, Strauss & Cudahy, 1958. Paul from the standpoint of a sympathetic Jewish interpreter.

Whiteley, D. E. H. *The Theology of St. Paul*. Fortress, 1964. This book has the advantages, and disadvantages, of any effort to display Paul's thought under the more or less traditional rubrics of Christian theology.

C. The Synoptic Gospels

Beare, Francis W. *The Earliest Records of Jesus: A Companion to the Synopsis of the First Three Gospels*. Abingdon, 1962. A very useful compact analysis of critical and historical problems of the Synoptics.

Briggs, Robert C. *Interpreting the Gospels: An Introduction to Methods and Issues in the Study of the Synoptic Gospels*. Abingdon, 1969. A good introduction to modern study and interpretation of the Synoptics.

Bultmann, Rudolf. *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*. 2d ed. Trans. John Marsh. Blackwell, 1968. Do not buy the first (1963) edition of the translation, which contains numerous and egregious errors. Bultmann's work, while provocative and controversial, is fundamental and still indispensable.

*Dibelius, Martin. *From Tradition to Gospel*. Trans. Bertam Lee Woolf. Scribner's, 1935.

Reumann, John. *Jesus in the Church's Gospels: Modern Scholarship and the Earliest Sources*. Fortress, 1968. Another book useful for orientation in modern Synoptic Scholarship.

D. The History of Early Christianity

*Barrett, C. K., ed., *The New Testament Background: Selected Documents*. London: S. P. C. K., 1957. A very valuable collection of materials illustrating the cultural, political, and religious milieu of early Christianity.

Bauer, Walter. *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*. Ed. Robert A. Kraft and Gerhard Krodel. Fortress, 1971. An important book which after nearly forty years has now been translated into English. Bauer attacks the thesis that heresy was always and everywhere derivative from orthodoxy, and suggests that in many quarters the original form of Christianity was by later standards heretical.

Moule, C. F. D., *The Birth of the New Testament*. London: Black, 1966. A well-balanced treatment of the many-faceted phenomenon of early Christianity which produced the New Testament.

Reicke, Bo, *The New Testament Era: The World of the Bible from 500 B.C. to A.D. 100*. Trans. David E. Green. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968. Of several competent, if not scintillating, surveys of the intertestamental period this is the most recent and up-to-date.

*Weiss, Johannes. *Earliest Christianity: A History of the Period A.D. 30-150*. 2 vols. Trans. F. C. Grant, et al. Harper, 1959 (pb—originally published in 1937). Old, and the German original is even older (1917), but possibly still the best effort to bring things together.

E. The Text of the New Testament

Metzger, Bruce. *The Text of the New Testament*. 2d ed. Oxford, 1968. The standard work in English.

IV. WORKS DEALING WITH SPECIFIC NEW TESTAMENT BOOKS

(C = commentary; G = based on the Greek text)

Matthew: Bornkamm, Günther, Gerhard Barth, and Heinz J. Held. *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*. Trans. Percy Scott. Westminster, 1963. A redaction-critical work of first importance,

containing a ground-breaking essay by Bornkamm and dissertations by two of his students. Technical, but not abstruse.

*Davies, W. D. *The Sermon on the Mount*. Cambridge University Press, 1966. An abridgment of Davies' larger work, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (Cambridge University Press, 1964). Davies sees Matthew against a post-Jamnian Jewish background. His work interestingly complements Bornkamm's.

Mark: Marxsen, Willi. *Mark the Evangelist: Studies on the Redaction History of the Gospel*. Trans. J. Boyce et al. Abingdon, 1969. Marxsen's Galilee theory is debatable, but his redaction-critical approach to the Gospel is most important.

(C) Schweizer, Eduard. *The Good News According to Mark*. Trans. Donald H. Madvig. John Knox, 1970. In methodology and perspective this is the most up-to-date commentary on Mark.

(CG) Taylor, Vincent. *The Gospel According to St. Mark*. 2d ed. Macmillan (London), 1966. Old-hat, but still invaluable for its treatment of philological and technical problems.

Luke: *Barrett, C. K. *Luke the Historian in Recent Study*. Epworth, 1961. A valuable summation of earlier scholarship.

Conzelmann, Hans. *The Theology of St. Luke*. Trans. Geoffrey Buswell. Faber and Faber, 1960. Very technical, rather difficult reading; but an important book.

(CG) Creed, John M. *The Gospel According to St. Luke*. Macmillan, 1930. Probably still the best English commentary on Luke.

Keck, Leander E., and J. Louis Martyn. *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert*. Abingdon, 1966. A valuable, wide-ranging collection of essays.

John: (CG) Barrett, C. K. *The Gospel According to John*. S. P. C. K., 1957. The best English commentary on the Greek text.

(C) Brown, Raymond E. *The Gospel According to John*. The Anchor Bible, vols. 29 and 30. Doubleday, 1966 and 1970. The most recent full-scale commentary; thorough, reliable, and helpful.

(CG) Bultmann, Rudolf. *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*. Trans. G. R. Beasley-Murray, with R. W. N. Hoare and J. K. Riches. Westminster, 1971. After thirty years the translation of Bultmann's *magnum opus* comes none too soon; yet it was still very much worth doing.

Martyn, J. Louis. *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*. Harper, 1968. This most suggestive recent study of John sees it arising out of a Christian dialogue with the late first-century Jewish synagogue.

Acts (see Luke above): (CG) Haenchen, E. *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary*. Trans. under the supervision of Hugh Anderson. Westminster, 1971.

Romans: (C) Barrett, C. K. *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*.

Black's New Testament Commentaries. Black, 1957. Probably the best English commentary of recent years.

(CG) Sanday, William, and Arthur C. Headlam. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*. 13th ed. International Critical Commentary. Scribner's, 1911. Still a valuable commentary, and the best available in English on the Greek text.

I Corinthians: (C) Barrett, C. K. *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*. Black's New Testament Commentaries. London: Black, 1968.

(CG) Robert, Archibald, and Alfred Plummer. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians*. 2d ed. International Critical Commentary. T. & T. Clark, 1911. Solid philological exegesis, although somewhat out-of-date in other ways.

II Corinthians: (CG) Plummer, Alfred. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians*. International Critical Commentary. Scribner's, 1915.

Galatians: (CG) Burton, Ernest Dewitt. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*. International Critical Commentary. Scribner's, 1920.

Philippians: (C) Beare, Francis W. *The Epistle to the Philippians*. Black's New Testament Commentaries. Black, 1959.

Colossians and Philemon: (C) Lohse, Edward. *Colossians and Philemon: A Commentary on the Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*. Trans. W. R. Poehlmann and R. J. Karris; ed. Helmut Köster. Hermeneia. Fortress, 1971.

Thessalonians: (CG) Frame, James Everett. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians*. International Critical Commentary. Scribner's, 1912.

Hebrews: (C) Bruce, F. F. *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*. The New International Commentary on the New Testament. Eerdmans, 1964.

James: (CG) Ropes, James H. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle of St. James*. International Critical Commentary. Scribner's, 1916. Still the standard work in English.

I Peter: (CG) Beare, Francis W. *The First Epistle of Peter*. 3d ed. Blackwell, 1970.

(CG) Selwyn, Edward Gordon. *The First Epistle of St. Peter*. Macmillan, 1946. We are relatively well supplied with commentaries on I Peter. Selwyn is somewhat more conservative than Beare.

Revelation: (C) Caird, G. B. *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine*. Black's New Testament Commentaries. Black, 1966.

V. COMMENTARY SERIES

The Anchor Bible. Doubleday, 1964—. A series of commentaries by scholars of Jewish, Catholic and Protestant faiths, originating mostly in the Albright School. The format of translation, notes, and commentary is a bit unwieldy.

Barclay, William. *The Daily Study Bible Series*. Westminster Press. A one-man effort by William Barclay of the University of Glasgow, it has been widely used by lay study groups. One can do worse, but he can also do better (see other entries).

Black's (in America Harper's) New Testament Commentaries. A recent series roughly comparable to the older Moffatt Series.

The Cambridge Bible Commentary: New English Bible. Cambridge University Press, 1963—. High level of popularization by some distinguished scholars.

Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary. Cambridge University Press, 1957—. Not as extensive as ICC (below), but the *new series* is much more up-to-date.

Hermeneia—A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible. Fortress, 1971—. A new series to consist of translations of outstanding existing commentaries by German scholars and some new commentaries by American scholars.

(G) *The International Critical Commentary*. Scribner's. Most of these are relatively old now, but taken together they are still the most thorough technical commentaries in English.

The Interpreter's Bible. Abingdon, 1951-1957. Widely available and valuable, despite the inevitably mixed quality of the contributions. With some exceptions, the sections denominated "Exposition" are not helpful in understanding the text.

The Layman's Bible Commentary Series. John Knox, 1959—. Non-technical commentaries by competent scholars and interpreters.

The Moffatt New Testament Commentary. Harper, 1927-1950. A non-technical commentary based on the Moffatt translation.

The New Clarendon Bible: New Testament. Clarendon Press, 1963—. The new series is based upon the NEB, like its Cambridge counterpart.

Torch Bible Commentary Series. SCM Press. Another recent layman's series by competent scholars, in this case mostly British.

Biblical Theology

Roland Murphy

I. OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY

- Dentan, R. C. *Preface to Old Testament Theology*. Rev. ed. Seabury, 1963.
- Eichrodt, W. *Theology of the Old Testament*. Trans. J. A. Baker. Westminster, 1961-67. A traditional presentation, systematized under the notion of covenant.
- *Hahn, H. F. *The Old Testament in Modern Research*. (Fortress, 1970), 226-249, and especially the addition by H. Hummel, pp. 307-13. This volume describes effectively what its title claims.
- Jacob, E. *Theology of the Old Testament*. Trans. A. W. Heathcote and P. J. Allcock. Hodder & Stoughton, 1958.
- Knight, G. A. F. *A Christian Theology of the Old Testament*. John Knox, 1959.
- McKenzie, J. L. "Aspects of Old Testament Thought," *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*, [hereafter referred to as *JBC*], Prentice-Hall, 1968, II, 736-67.
- *Rad, G. von. *Old Testament Theology*. Trans. D. M. G. Stalker. Harper & Row, 1962-65. An exciting and insightful presentation of Israel's traditions. Volume 2 only is also available as a SCM paperback under the title *The Message of the Prophets* (1968).
- Vriezen, T. *An Outline of Old Testament Theology*. Basil Blackwell, 1958.
- *Wright, G. E. *God Who Acts*. SCM, 1952.
- . *The Old Testament and Theology*. Harper & Row, 1969.

II. NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY

- Bultmann, R. *Theology of the New Testament*. Trans. K. Grobel. Scribner's, 1951-55.
- Conzelmann, H. *An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament*. Harper & Row, 1969.
- Cullmann, O. *Salvation in History*. SCM, 1967.
- Fitzmyer, J. A. "Pauline Theology," *JBC* II, 800-27.
- Jeremias, J. *New Testament Theology*: vol. I *The Proclamation of Jesus*. Scribner's 1971—. The first volume, based on the gospels, is promising for future volumes. A solid example of careful analysis of the Gospel texts.
- Schnackenburg, R. *New Testament Theology Today*. Herder and Herder, 1963. A clear and on-target exposition of current movements in New Testament theology.

Stanley D. and Brown, R. E. "Aspects of New Testament Thought," *JBC II*, 768-99.

Vawter, B. "Johannine Theology," *JBC II*, 828-39.

III. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TESTAMENTS

*Anderson, B. W., ed. *The Old Testament and Christian Faith*. Harper & Row, 1963. A collection of insightful essays which treat the relationship between the Testaments.

Barr, J. *Old and New in Interpretation*. SCM, 1966.

*Kraeling, E. G. *The Old Testament Since the Reformation*. Lutterworth, 1955.

Lohfink, N. *The Christian Meaning of the Old Testament*. Trans. R. A. Wilson. Bruce, 1968.

Murphy, R. E. "The Relationship Between the Testaments" in *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 26 (1964), 349-59: "Christian Understanding of the Old Testament," *Theology Digest*, 18 (1970), 321-32.

Murphy, R. E. and Benoit, P. ed., *How Does the Christian Confront the Old Testament*. Concilium, 30. Paulist Press, 1968.

Westermann, C. ed., *Essays on Old Testament Hermeneutics*. Trans. J. L. Mays. John Knox, 1963.

IV. BIBLICAL THEOLOGY

Beker, J. C. "Reflections on Biblical Theology," *Interpretation*, 24 (1970), 303-20.

Childs, B. S. *Biblical Theology in Crisis*. Westminster, 1970. An assessment of the Biblical theology movement and creative suggestions about doing Biblical theology within the canon. The work is enriched by concrete examples of Biblical theology.

Ebeling, G. *Word and Faith*. Trans. J. W. Leitch. Fortress, 1963, 79-97.

Stendahl, K. "Biblical Theology," *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. Abingdon, 1962, I, 418-32.

V. BIBLICAL THEOLOGY AND SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY

Ebeling, G. *Word and Faith*, 305-332.

Kelsey, D. "Appeals to Scripture in Theology," *Journal of Religion* 48 (1968), 1-21.

Murphy, R. E. "The Role of the Bible in Roman Catholic Theology," *Interpretation*, 25 (1971), 77-86.

Pannenberg, W. *Basic Questions in Theology*. Fortress, 1970, 1-14, 182-210.

Stendahl, K., and A. Dulles in *The Bible and Modern Scholarship*, ed. P. Hyatt. Abingdon, 1965, 196-216.

Vorgriemer, H., ed. *Dogmatic vs. Biblical Theology*. Helicon, 1964.

Early and Medieval Church History

Richard E. Gillespie

I. ATLASES

*McEvedy, Colin. *The Penguin Atlas of Medieval History*. Penguin Books Ltd., 1961. A good inexpensive collection of 40 maps and commentary covering Europe and the Near East during the period of the western middle ages.

Van der Meer, F., and Christine Mohrmann. *Atlas of the Early Christian World*. Trans. Mary Hedlund and H. H. Rowley. Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1958. In addition to the very good maps, this atlas contains numerous charts and plates showing the spread of Christianity, the development of monasticism, the architecture of various periods and places, etc.; coverage extends through the eighth century.

II. COLLECTIONS OF DOCUMENTS

*Bettenson, Henry, ed. *Documents of the Christian Church*. Oxford University Press, 1960 (later editions also in paper). An inexpensive good introductory collection of primary source documents covering the whole history of the church, including sections on church and state, creeds, the New Testament canon, Trinitarian and Christological issues, the nature of man, the church and the sacraments, papal authority, monasticism, etc.

*Rahner, Karl, S. J., ed. *The Teaching of the Catholic Church*. Trans. Geoffrey Stevens. Alba House, 1971. A very good standard Catholic collection of "doctrinal Church documents which have been of particular significance in the Church's formulation of divine revelation" (p. 10).

Stevenson, J., ed. *Creeds, Councils, and Controversies: Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church A.D. 337-461*. The Seabury Press, 1966. This and the following work edited by Stevenson offer to the student who wishes to go beyond Bettenson both a broader and more intensive coverage of primary source documents pertaining to the early church.

*———. *A New Eusebius: Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church to A.D. 337*. S.P.C.K. Press, 1963.

III. COLLECTIONS OF WORKS AND EDITIONS

Ancient Christian Writers. The Newman Press, 1946-1966. Vols. 1-35. Collections of theological works, sermons, and letters of various early fathers. Indexed.

- The Ante-Nicene Fathers*. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1885-1887. Vols. 1-10. Indexed. An old standard which remains useful, although portions have been re-edited and re-translated since its publication.
- Fathers of the Church*. The Catholic University of America Press, 1947-1970. Vols. 1-64. Indexed. Excellent treatment of individual fathers.
- The Library of Christian Classics*. Westminster Press, 1953-1961. Vols. 1-26. Indexed. An excellent collection "of the most indispensable Christian treatises written prior to the end of the sixteenth century" (from the General Editors' Preface). Many of the volumes contain good introductory and bibliographical material. Two of the volumes, **Early Christian Fathers*, ed. Cyril Richardson (vol. 1) and **A Scholastic Miscellany*, ed. E. R. Fairweather (vol. 10), are now available in paper from Macmillan (1970).
- The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*. First Series: The Christian Literature Co., 1886-1889, Vols. 1-14. Second Series: Charles Scribner's Son, 1886-1900, Vols. 1-14. The first series is given to the translation of Augustine's and Chrysostom's works; the second series contains various other fathers. An old standard which remains very useful.

IV. SECONDARY WORKS

- Altaner, B. *Patrology*. Trans. Hilda Graef. Herder and Herder, 1961. An indispensable one-volume reference work containing much biographical, bibliographical, and theological information on the church fathers through the eighth century.
- Bouyer, L., et al. *History of Christian Spirituality*. Burns and Oates. Vol. 1 (*The Spirituality of the New Testament and the Fathers*), 1963; Vol. 2 (*The Spirituality of the Middle Ages*), 1968; Vol. 3 (*Orthodox Spirituality and Protestant and Anglican Spirituality*), 1969. Differs from doctrinal and moral histories in that it attempts to show "the integral witness of tradition and of Christian experience to the whole concrete reality of 'life in Christ Jesus'." Well indexed.
- *Chadwick, H. *The Early Church*. Vol. 1 of *The Pelican History of the Church*. Penguin Books Ltd., 1971. A very good, if brief, account of the early church in its social and ideological context. Good bibliography and index.
- Daniélou, J., and H. Marrou. *The First Six Hundred Years*. Trans. V. Cronin, vol. 1 of *The Christian Centuries*. McGraw-Hill, 1964. A well-written, detailed, but not overly-technical, account, replete with excellent illustrations and maps. Excellent bibliography and index.
- González, J. *A History of Christian Thought*. Abingdon, 1971. 2 vols. A very readable account of theological development from the

Fathers through the Middle Ages (a third volume will cover the Renaissance and Reformation). Indexed.

*Harnack, A. *History of Dogma*. Trans. Neil Buchanan. Dover Publications Inc., 1961. 7 vols. (bound as 4 vols.) An English translation of the third German edition of 1893. Although many studies in the field of history of dogma have appeared in this century, Harnack's account of the development of Christian doctrine has not been superseded; it remains the classic work of its kind. Excellent footnotes and index.

Kelly, J. N. D. *Early Christian Doctrines*. Harper & Row, 1960. 2d ed. An outline of theological development in the early church, with special emphasis on Trinitarian theology, Christology, and anthropology, this book should be read in conjunction with some other work (such as González) which gives more explicit coverage to individual theologians. Indexed.

Knowles, D., and D. Obolensky. *The Middle Ages*. Vol. 2 of *The Christian Centuries*. McGraw-Hill, 1968. Well-written account with excellent bibliography, illustrations, maps, and index.

Seeberg, R. *Text-book of the History of Doctrines*. Trans. Charles Hay. Baker Book House, 1961. Covers the early church, the medieval church, the Reformers, and the Council of Trent. Although difficult to read in places, this work contains technical information not available elsewhere in English. Indexed.

*Southern, R. W. *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*. Vol. 2 of *The Pelican History of the Church*. Penguin Books Ltd., 1970. Covers the period from the eighth century to the sixteenth with respect to the intellectual and social context of the church. Indexed.

Walker, W. *A History of the Christian Church*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959. rev. ed. First published in 1918, this book remains one of the best, if abbreviated, accounts of church history from the beginnings to the modern period. A very good introductory text. Good bibliography, maps, and index.

Reformation Studies

David Steinmetz

I. THEOLOGY ON THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION

- *Cohn, Norman. *The Pursuit of the Millenium*. 2d ed. Oxford University Press, 1970. Fascinating story of the apocalyptic and and revolutionary sects of the late middle ages and Reformation.
- *Oberman, Heiko A. *The Harvest of Medieval Theology*. Harvard University Press, 1963. Standard study of late medieval scholasticism. Difficult but rewarding.
- Oberman, Heiko A. *Forerunners of the Reformation*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966. Reader of theology just before the Reformation.
- Ozment, Steven E., ed. *The Reformation in Medieval Perspective*. Quadrangle Books, 1971. Collection of important essays and a very useful bibliography of bibliographies in Reformation studies.

II. GENERAL HISTORIES

- *Dickens, Arthur G. *The Counter Reformation*. Harcourt, 1969. Beautifully illustrated introduction to Catholic reform movements.
- *Dickens, Arthur G. *The English Reformation*. Schocken, 1967. Compact, informative and sensible. Historical writing at its best.
- Elton, Geoffrey R. *Reformation Europe 1517-1559*. Harper Torchbooks, 1963. The best one-volume history.
- Lortz, Joseph. *The Reformation in Germany*. Herder, 1968. 2 vols. A sympathetic and influential account of the Reformation by a Roman Catholic scholar.
- Steinmetz, David C. *Reformers in the Wings*. Fortress, 1971. An introduction to twenty minor reformers of the 16th century and through them to the crucial issues of Reformation theology.
- Williams, George H. *The Radical Reformation*. Westminster, 1962. A mine of information about the left-wing sects of the 16th century.

III. TEXTS

While the writings of many Protestant Reformers are now in print, the following texts are fundamental:

- *Hillerbrand, Hans J., ed. *The Protestant Reformation*. Harper Torchbooks, 1968. A primer of important selections for the beginning student.

- McNeill, John T., ed. *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Westminster, 1960. 2 vols. The best edition of the *Institutes*. Very valuable notes and indices.
- *Tappert, Theodore G., ed. *Selected Writings of Martin Luther*. Fortress, 1967. 4 vols. An inexpensive collection of the more important treatises by Luther. A good buy.
- Williams, George H., et al., ed. *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers*. Westminster, 1957. A fine selection of works by left-wing Protestants.

IV. SOME SPECIFIC STUDIES IN REFORMATION HISTORY

- Althaus, Paul. *The Theology of Martin Luther*. Fortress, 1966. Important introduction by a fairly conservative Lutheran.
- Bainton, Roland. *Women of the Reformation in Italy and Germany*. Augsburg, 1971. Entertaining and informative vignettes by the dean of American Reformation scholars.
- *Courvoisier, Jaques. *Zwingli: A Reformed Theologian*. John Knox, 1963. Summarizes recent scholarship on Zwingli.
- Ebeling, Gerhard. *Luther: Introduction to his Thought*. Fortress, 1970. Stimulating lectures on Luther's theology.
- Jedin, Hubert. *A History of the Council of Trent*. Herder, 1957, 1961. A definitive study of Catholic reform in 2 volumes. Other volumes are expected. Fascinating reading.
- *Rupp, Gordon. *Luther's Progress to the Diet of Worms*. Harper Torchbook, 1964. Well-written biography of the young Luther.
- Rupp, Gordon. *Patterns of Reform*. Fortress Press, 1969. Immensely entertaining introduction to Karlstadt and Muentzer.
- Wendel, Francois. *Calvin: Origins and Development of His Religious Thought*. Harper, 1963. The best one-volume study of Calvin.

V. POST-REFORMATION HISTORIES

- *Barth, Karl. *Protestant Thought*. Harper, 1969. Penetrating analysis of major figures in 19th century theology.
- Berkouwer, Gerrit C. *The Second Vatican Council and the New Catholicism*. Eerdmans, 1965. The best Protestant interpretation of the Second Vatican Council and one of the best by any theologian. Must reading.
- *Cragg, Gerald R. *The Church and the Age of Reason*. Pelican, 1960. Well-written account of Church history to the French Revolution.
- Dillenberger, John. *Protestant Thought and Natural Science*. Doubleday, 1960. Though addressed to a specific issue it gives a good insight into the main trends in Protestant theology generally.
- *Dillenberger, John, and Welch, Claude. *Protestant Christianity*. Scribner's, 1954. Good overview for the beginner. Trends in the history of Protestant theology.

- Hennessey, James J. *The First Council of the Vatican*. Herder, 1963. Interesting account of the first Vatican Council from the perspective of the American bishops who took part in it. Good background reading for Vatican II.
- McGiffert, Arthur C. *Protestant Thought Before Kant*. Harper Torchbooks, 1962. Old but still useful.
- *Reardon, Bernard M. G. *Religious Thought in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge University Press, 1966. Good collection of writings from European, British and American religious thinkers.
- *Vidler, Alec R. *The Church in an Age of Revolution*. Pelican, 1961. Continuation from the French Revolution to the present. (See Cragg above.)

Wesley and Methodism

Frank Baker

Attention has been concentrated on works still in print, but the occasional out-of-print ("O.P.") book included is sometimes available secondhand.

I. PERIODICALS

Methodist History. Commission on Archives and History, Lake Junaluska, N.C. Broad in range; not confined to American Methodism.

Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society. 25-35 City Road, London, E.C. 1, England. Mainly British Methodism to 1850.

II. GENERAL

Luccock, Halford E., Paul Hutchinson, and Robert W. Goodloe. *The Story of Methodism*. Abingdon, 1926. An easy-to-read general history of the worldwide spread of Methodism, with two final chapters on "The Unification of American Methodism" and "Methodism since World War I."

Townsend, W. J., H. B. Workman, and George Eayrs, eds. *A New History of Methodism*. 2 vols. Hodder & Stoughton, 1909. Remains very valuable. Vol. 1 deals with the various branches of British Methodism, Vol. 2 with worldwide Methodism. A good index and (for the date) a very good bibliography.

Wesley, John. *Journal*. (Preferably *The Standard Edition*, ed. Nehemiah Curnock, 8 vols., Epworth, 1938). Still the best source for gaining an authentic picture of the manysided views and activities of this amazing man.

III. THE WESLEYS

Baker, Frank. *John Wesley and the Church of England*. Abingdon, 1970. A strongly documented narrative of Wesley's gradual estrangement from the Church of England at the call of conscience, which had a major impact upon the origins of both British and American Methodism.

Gill, Frederick C. *Charles Wesley: The First Methodist*. Abingdon, 1964. A charming biography, though lacking in documentation and with many errors in detail.

Green, W. H. H. *John Wesley*, in "Leaders of Religion." Nelson, 1964. A useful brief biography.

Outler, Albert C., ed. *John Wesley*, in a "Library of Protestant

Thought." Oxford, 1964. A selection of Wesley's writings designed to present him as a "folk theologian," with a scintillating introduction and incisive comments by Dr. Outler.

IV. BRITISH METHODISM

Davies, Rupert E., and E. Gordon Rupp, eds. *A History of The Methodist Church in Great Britain*, Vol. 1. Epworth, 1965. A valuable composite work laying solid foundations for an understanding of British Methodism in the eighteenth century. (The subsequent volumes are expected in two or three years' time.)

V. AMERICAN METHODISM

Asbury, Francis. *The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury*. Ed. Elmer T. Clark, J. Manning Potts, and Jacob S. Payton. 3 vols. Abingdon, 1958. An essential primary source, though uneven in scholarship.

Bucke, Emory S., ed. *The History of American Methodism*. 3 vols. Abingdon, 1964. A composite work, very uneven in scholarship, but absolutely essential as a starting place for the study of almost any aspect of the subject.

Sweet, William Warren. *Methodism in American History*. Abingdon, 1954. The best one-volume survey of Methodism's impact on America through two centuries.

VI. SPECIAL STUDIES

Barclay, Wade Crawford. *The History of Methodist Missions*. Vols. 1 and 2, "Early American Methodism, 1769-1844"; Vol. 3, "The Methodist Episcopal Church, 1845-95." Board of Missions, 1949, 1950, 1957. This monumental work is still incomplete but is of great value, especially as each volume has its own notes and index, and Vol. 2 and 3 each has a bibliography. Vol. 2 devoted 160 pages (and over 20 pages of notes) to the story of Indian missions.

Cameron, Richard M. *Methodism and Society in Historical Perspective*. Abingdon, 1961. "A panoramic view of Methodism's interaction with its political and cultural environment," both in Britain and America, beginning with Wesley's days and continuing to our own.

Kirkpatrick, Dow, ed. *The Doctrine of the Church*. Abingdon, 1964. A symposium of eleven essays by scholars of different nations and denominations resulting from the 1962 Oxford Institute on Methodist Theological Studies.

Vickers, John A. *Thomas Coke: Apostle of Methodism*. Abingdon, 1969. A scholarly and attractive presentation of early Methodism's man for all the world.

American Christianity

Harriet Leonard

In order to be most useful to prospective book purchasers this bibliography emphasizes recent works, those still in print, and those which are available in paperback. In some instances other good books of the same type are available but not listed; these choices are intended to indicate the wide range of scholarship now existing in the field of American Christianity.

I. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

Burr, Nelson R. *A Critical Bibliography of Religion in America*. 2 vols. Princeton University Press, 1961. (Vol. IV, pts. 1 and 2, *Religion in American Life*, ed. James Ward Smith.)

An extremely valuable bibliographical treatise on the people, events, and theological developments in the history of religion in the United States. The other three volumes in the series contain essays exploring the influence of religion in American life.

*Burr, Nelson R. *Religion in American Life*. Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1971.

Authoritative, useful, and portable, this small volume contains hundreds of short summaries of books, articles, dissertations in the field.

Mead, Frank S. *Handbook of Denominations in the United States*. 5th ed. Abingdon, 1970.

The bibliography, pages 235-245, lists works on American denominations and sects.

II. SOURCE COLLECTIONS

*Ahlstrom, Sidney E., ed. *Theology in America: the Major Protestant Voices from Puritanism to Neo-Orthodoxy*. Bobbs-Merrill, 1967. Selections from outstanding theologians, with emphasis upon those from New England. In preface and introduction Ahlstrom introduces some original ideas about theology in America.

*Ferm, Robert L., comp. *Issues in American Protestantism: a Documentary History from the Puritans to the Present*. Doubleday Anchor paperback, in print 1972.

Another of the good recent collections, easy to use, with helpful commentaries.

*Miller, Perry C. and Thomas H. Johnson, eds. *The Puritans: a Sourcebook of their Writings*. 2 vols. Harper Torchbooks, in print 1972.

One of many useful contributions to American religious studies by New England scholar Perry Miller.

Smith, Hilrie Shelton, Robert T. Handy, and Lefferts A. Loetscher. *American Christianity*. 2 vols. Scribner, 1960-63.

Probably the indispensable work of its kind, combining interesting and well-balanced narrative with full texts of documents chosen to reflect American Christianity from 1607 to 1960.

Sweet, William Warren. *Religion on the American Frontier: a Collection*. 4 vols. Cooper Square, in print 1972 (reprint of 1946 ed.).

A collection not yet surpassed or replaced, these volumes concentrate on one denomination each, in the following order: Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists.

III. COLLECTIVE BIOGRAPHY

Makers of Christianity, Vol. III: *From John Cotton to Lyman Abbott*, by William Sweet. Holt, 1937.

This collection of personal sketches is pleasant to read and informative about men who influenced American religious thought.

Shriver, George H., ed. *American Religious Heretics*. Abingdon, 1966.

Studies of controversial figures in American religious history, including Philip Schaff, C. A. Briggs, Borden Parker Bowne.

Soper, David W. *Major Voices in American Theology*. 2 vols. Kenikat, 1969 (reprint of 1953-55 ed.).

Vol. I includes substantial essays on the Niebuhrs, Tillich, Robert Calhoun, and others. Vol. II contains briefer sketches of eleven American theologians.

Sprague, William B. *Annals of the American Pulpit*. 9 vols. Arno Press, 1969 (reprint of 1857 ed.).

A unique compilation which you will be lucky to find in a nearby library, Sprague's *Annals* include "commemorative notices of distinguished American clergymen of various denominations from the early settlement of the United States to 1855."

Note: See Nelson Burr's bibliographies for recommended individual biographies.

IV. GENERAL SURVEYS AND INTERPRETATIONS

Clebsch, William A. *From Sacred to Profane America: the Role of Religion in American History*. Harper and Row, 1968.

The author presents and defends the thesis that although American ideals were shaped by religious belief, the ideals have been realized outside the religious establishment.

Gaustad, Edwin S. *A Religious History of America*. Harper and Row, 1966.

A helpful introduction to the influence of religion in American life. Includes many short quotations from primary sources, fascinating illustrations.

Henry, Stuart C., ed. *A Miscellany of American Christianity: Essays in Honor of H. Shelton Smith*. Duke University Press, 1963.

Contains some outstanding essays on American theology and culture written by colleagues and former students of Shelton Smith.

*Hudson, Winthrop S. *Religion in America*. Scribner, 1965.

A clear and well-written treatment of American religious life and thought, including both early and modern trends.

*Littell, Franklin H. *From State Church to Pluralism: a Protestant Interpretation of Religion in American History*. Aldine, 1962. (In Doubleday Anchor paperback also.)

An interesting combination of historical evidence and contemporary interpretation centering around the separation of the religious and political covenants in American history and the results of this separation in later years.

*Marty, Martin E. *Righteous Empire: the Protestant Experience in America*. Dial, 1970.

A history of two hundred years of Protestantism in America, this is a volume in "Two Centuries of American Life: a Bicentennial Series."

Mead, Sidney E. *The Lively Experiment: the Shaping of Christianity in America*. Harper and Row, 1963.

An author noted for originality, Mead describes in these lively essays the development of a distinctly American Christian church.

*Niebuhr, H. Richard. *The Kingdom of God in America*. Harper and Row Torchbooks, in print 1972 (reprint of 1959 ed.).

A classic work by a distinguished theologian, intending to interpret American Christianity as a movement centering upon faith in the Kingdom of God.

*Niebuhr, H. Richard. *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*. Meridian Books, 1970 (reprint of 1957 ed.).

The other side of the coin: American Christianity examined to discover the mutual influence of faith and social forces in forming the various denominations.

*Niebuhr, Reinhold. *The Irony of American History*. Scribner, 1952. (in print 1972).

One of many provocative volumes by a theologian who has had great influence upon American religious and political thought in this century.

Olmstead, Clifton E. *Religion in America, Past and Present*. Prentice-Hall, 1960.

A reliable history of American theology as it interacted with numerous facets of American culture.

V. SPECIAL TOPICS

Bailey, Kenneth K. *Southern White Protestantism in the Twentieth Century*. Peter Smith, in print 1972.

A well-researched survey with emphasis upon Southern religion in the 1920's.

Ellis, John Tracy. *American Catholicism*. 2d ed. University of Chicago Press, 1969.

A standard work, now updated with a final chapter dealing with changes in Catholicism since the election of Pope John XXIII.

Frazier, Edward F. *The Negro Church in America*. Schocken Books, 1964. Brief but stimulating presentation by a respected scholar.

Glazer, Nathan. *American Judaism*. University of Chicago Press, 1957.

A thoughtful and critical description of the history of the Jews in America, centering upon the idea of Judaism as the quest for a holy community.

*Gleason, Philip, ed. *Catholicism in America*. Harper and Row, 1970.

One of the good recent books concerning the development of Catholicism in America, this is a helpful sampling of essays which interpret cultural, social, and political interrelationships with religion.

*Hill, Samuel S. *Southern Churches in Crisis*. Beacon Press, 1968.

An analysis of popular Southern religion, its relationship to Southern culture, and what is required for a renewal of the Christian church in this region.

Knight, George A. F., ed. *Jews and Christians: Preparation for Dialogue*. Westminster, 1965.

The Jewish experience in American history is reviewed, and background is given for more mutually appreciative relationships between Jews and Christians.

Mays, Benjamin E. and J. W. Nicholson. *The Negro's Church*. Russell, 1969 (reprint of 1933 ed.).

An early, influential study giving a comprehensive picture of the Negro church in America forty years ago.

Nelsen, Hart M., ed. *The Black Church in America*. Basic Books, 1971.

A substantial book of readings intended for use in sociology of religion and Black studies courses, but also good for general orientation in the history and nature of the Black church in the U.S.

*Washington, Joseph R. *Black Religion; the Negro and Christianity in the U.S.* Beacon Press, 1964.

The author argues that the established Negro denominations have not been sufficiently concerned with racial justice, and he calls for the assimilation of Negroes into white churches.

Note: Fortress Press is including in its paperbound Facet Books Historical Series a number of brief studies in American church history. They are good buys for \$1.00 each. Examples: Jerald Brauer's *Images of Religion in America*; Paul Carter's *The Idea of Progress in American Protestant Thought, 1930-1960*; William Clebsch's *Christian Interpretation of the Civil War*.

VI. NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Alley, Robert S. *So Help Me God: Religion and the Presidency, Wilson to Nixon*. John Knox Press, 1972.

Dabbs, James McBride. *Haunted by God*. John Knox Press, 1972.
Culture and spiritual values of the South.

*Handy, Robert T. *Religion in the American Experience: the Pluralistic Style*. Harper and Row, 1972.

*Hill, Samuel S., et al. *Religion and the Solid South*. Abingdon, 1972.
Includes a chapter by Anne F. Scott on the role of women in Southern religion and society.

Smith, Elwyn A. *Religious Liberty in the U.S.: the Development of Church-State Thought since the Revolutionary Era*. Fortress, 1972.

Smith, Hilrie Shelton. *In His Image, But . . . ; Racism in Southern Religion, 1780-1910*. Duke University Press, 1972.

Based on the James A. Gray Lectures given at Duke University in 1965.

Christianity and Non-Western Cultures

Creighton Lacy

- *Anderson, Gerald H., ed. *The Theology of the Christian Mission*. Abingdon, 1961. With the unevenness of most symposia, this collection includes some important perspectives from men like Cullmann, Barth, DeWolf, Kraemer, and Tillich.
- Blauw, Johannes. *The Missionary Nature of the Church*. McGraw-Hill, 1962. A Dutch theologian traces the gradual shift in the Biblical pattern of mission, from the centripetal in-gathering of the nations in the Old Testament to the centrifugal spread of Christian witnesses out into the world, as described—and commanded—in the New Testament.
- *British Council of Churches. *Violence in Southern Africa*. SCM Press, 1970. A group of British churchmen apply incisive moral judgments and candid self-criticism to one of the most explosive areas in today's world.
- Bush, Richard C. *Religion in Communist China*. Abingdon, 1970. A former Methodist missionary in Taiwan and Hong Kong collects and analyzes assorted information which has come out of the People's Republic of China relating not only to Christianity, but to the traditional faiths as well. The next few years may reveal how closely these miscellaneous reports accord with the facts—and the truth.
- Cragg, Kenneth. *Christianity in World Perspective*. Oxford, 1968. The leading Christian authority on Islam examines, with profound theological insight, a few of the doctrinal issues and interpretations which distinguish Christianity from other faiths—or bind them in common human experience.
- *Latourette, Kenneth S. *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*. 7 vols. Harper, 1937-1945. Latourette's seven volumes provide the "definitive" history of missions up to 1945. They can be read as handy reference works, or piecemeal for their voluminous details, or with the narrative sweep of a mighty tide.
- Laurentin, Rene. *Liberation, Development and Salvation*. Orbis, 1972. One of several exciting and provocative interpretations of the Christian mission as humanization, in spiritual as well as political and social terms.
- Michalson, Carl. *Japanese Contributions to Christian Theology*. Westminster, 1960. Shortly before his untimely death, one of Methodism's most promising younger theologians examined, as an example of world-wide indigenization, creative developments in Japanese thought.
- Minus, Paul M., Jr., ed. *Methodism's Destiny in an Ecumenical Age*.

- Abingdon, 1969. This collection of essays is included under World Christianity because it encompasses not only ecumenical but world perspectives from some of the most distinguished Methodist statesmen of our day.
- *Morris, Colin. *Unyoung, Uncolored, Unpoor*. Abingdon, 1969. Here is a Methodist missionary (now pastor of Wesley's Chapel in London), "angry" with the righteous indignation of the earlier prophets, applying his deep personal involvement in the African freedom movement to the Christian imperative everywhere.
- Neill, Stephen. *Call to Mission*. Fortress, 1970. In a tiny but immensely stimulating "apologia" the "dean" of mission leadership and scholarship asks not only "What Did Missionaries Do Wrong?" and "What Did Missionaries Do Right?" but—more importantly—"Where Do We Go From Here?"
- *———. (*A History of*) *Christian Missions*. Penguin, 1964. The best of compact, up-to-date, paperback histories of missions—although it should often drive serious readers to the fuller detail of Latourette's seven volumes or to the greater "human interest" of biography.
- Neill, Stephen; Anderson, Gerald; and Goodwin, John; eds. *Concise Dictionary of the Christian World Mission*. Abingdon, 1970. A comprehensive, new, one-volume encyclopedia (*not* dictionary) which touches most of the persons, geographical areas, societies, movements, and events in the worldwide spread of Christianity.
- Niles, D. T. *Upon the Earth*. McGraw-Hill, 1962. In this reviewer's opinion, the best among many books by the dynamic Methodist theologian-evangelist from Ceylon, who was one of the presidents of the World Council of Churches as well as a founder-leader of the East Asian Christian Council.
- Power, John. *Mission Theology Today*. Orbis, 1971. As in ecumenism since Vatican II, so in missions, Roman Catholic theologians are outrunning most Protestants in thoughtful, lively, and contemporary insights into the meaning of the Gospel today.
- Soper, Edmund D. *The Philosophy of the Christian World Mission*. Abingdon, 1943. Though out of print and in some respects out of date, this survey by the first dean of Duke Divinity School is included because students still find it the most readable and comprehensive introductory text in the field.
- Tillich, Paul. *The Future of Religions*. Harper & Row, 1966. Many people do not know that in his later years Tillich, one of the greatest Christian thinkers of the twentieth century, turned with fresh enthusiasm and appreciation to "The Significance of the History of Religions for the Systematic Theologian" (his last public lecture, included here).
- *Toynbee, Arnold. *Christianity Among the Religions of the World*. Scribner's, 1957. Similarly, it is significant to discover that a famous secular historian, once regarded as a syncretist if not an

agnostic, finds a vital, if controversial, place for "Christianity among the religions of the world."

Trueblood, Elton. *The Validity of the Christian Mission*. Harper & Row, 1972. Though not as sparkling as Neill or as insightful as Power, Trueblood applies his familiar style and conviction to a new and vital "defense" of the missionary imperative.

*Van Leeuwen, Arend. *Christianity in World History*. Edinburgh House, 1964. Sometimes heavy going in its scholarly probing of philosophy and world culture, this book has already become a much-quoted modern classic on the place of Christianity in secular history.

World Religions

Harry B. Partin

The following bibliography is obviously not comprehensive, for it lists, besides several "general" books, only some works on Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam. (There is no adequate single book for "all the religions," J. B. Noss' *Man's Religions*, Huston Smith's *The Religions of Man*, and similar efforts notwithstanding.) Except in the few cases indicated the books listed are available in paperback editions.

I. GENERAL

- Adams, Charles J. *A Reader's Guide to the Great Religions*. The Free Press, 1965. An excellent bibliographical guide. (hard-cover)
- *Eliade, Mircea. *Patterns in Comparative Religion*. Meridian Books, 1968. Historical and phenomenological study of religion, with particular attention to symbolism and mythology.
- *———. *The Sacred and the Profane*. Harper & Row, 1959. Subtitle: "The Nature of Religion."
- *Streng, Frederick J. *Understanding Religious Man*. Dickenson Publishing Co., 1969. Distinguishes "ways of being religious."
- *Zaehner, Robert C., ed. *Concise Encyclopedia of Living Faiths*. Beacon Press, 1968. Substantial articles on major religions; good first orientation.

II. HINDUISM

- *Basham, A. L. *The Wonder That Was India*. Grove Press, 1959. The "complete" book on ancient and classical India.
- *Bharati, Aghananda. *The Tantric Tradition*. Doubleday, Anchor Books, 1970. The tradition of sexual symbolism and ritual in Hinduism.
- *Deutsch, Eliot, trans. *The Bhagavad-gita*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968. Good translation of the ever-popular "Gita."
- *Eliade, Mircea. *Yoga: Immortality and Freedom*. Princeton, 1970. Stay away from the dilettantes on this subject; try Eliade.
- *Hopkins, Thomas J. *The Hindu Religious Tradition*. Dickenson Publishing Co., 1971. Especially good on Vedic sacrifice.
- *Hume, Robert E., trans. *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*. Oxford, 1971. Old but still of value. (reprint of 1931 edition)
- *Radhakrishnan, S. *The Hindu View of Life*. Macmillan, 1939. Sophisticated apologetics.
- *Zaehner, Robert C. *Hinduism*. Oxford, 1962. Close-packed and somewhat difficult but worth the effort.

———, trans. *Hindu Scriptures*. Everyman's Library, 1966. Anthology.

- *Zimmer, Heinrich. *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*. Harper & Row, 1946. Interpretive, in a somewhat Jungian perspective, of some of the major myths and symbols; fascinating reading.

III. BUDDHISM

- *Conze, Edward. *Buddhism: Its Essence and Development*. Harper & Row, 1951. Polemical as regards Christianity (Conze personally a Buddhist).
- *Conze, Edward, trans. *Buddhist Scriptures*. Penguin, 1969. One of the better anthologies.
- *Earhart, H. Byron. *Japanese Religion: Unity and Diversity*. Dickenson Publishing Co., 1969. Places Buddhism in the whole of Japanese religion.
- *Rahula, Walpola. *What the Buddha Taught*. Grove Press, 1962. Author a Ceylonese Buddhist monk.
- *Robinson, Richard H. *The Buddhist Religion*. Dickenson Publishing Co., 1970. Mainly the Indian history of Buddhism.
- *Suzuki, D. T. *Introduction to Zen Buddhism*. Grove Press, 1964. Many of Suzuki's writings are available in paperback editions; Suzuki a more reliable interpreter of Zen than, say, Alan Watts.
- *Swearer, Donald K. *Buddhism in Transition*. Westminster, 1970. Buddhism in the modern world.
- *Thompson, Laurence G. *Chinese Religion: An Introduction*. Dickenson Publishing Co., 1969. Buddhism in the context of Chinese religiosity.
- *Tucci, G. *The Theory and Practice of the Mandala*. Rider and Co., 1961. A readable introduction by one of the great Buddhologists. (Paperback published by Weiser.)

IV. ISLAM

- *Arberry, A. J. *Sufism*. Harper & Row, 1970. Best introduction to Islamic mysticism.
- *———. *The Koran Interpreted*. Macmillan, 1964. Title is misleading; actually one of the best English translations of the Qur'ān.
- *Cragg, Kenneth. *The Call of the Minaret*. Oxford, 1964. Interpretive of Islam, using the "call to prayer" as outline; attention to Christian-Muslim relationships.
- *———. *The House of Islam*. Dickenson Publishing Co., 1969. Interprets religious qualities of Islam.
- *Farah, Caesar E. *Islam: Beliefs and Observances*. Barron's Educational Series, 1970. Compact, informative.
- *Gibb, H. A. R. *Mohammedanism: An Historical Survey*. Oxford, 1962. A good first book on Islam.

- *Guillaume, Alfred. *Islam*. Penguin, 1956. Similar to above in purpose and outline.
- *Lewis, Bernard. *The Arabs in History*. Harper & Row, 1966. A readable, interpretive history.
- *Lincoln, Eric. *The Black Muslims in America*. Beacon, 1961. History and interpretation of the movement.
- *Rahman, Fazlur. *Islam*. Doubleday, Anchor Books, 1968. Author a Pakistani Muslim scholar.
- *Smith, W. C. *Islam in Modern History*. Mentor, 1959. Survey of problems and prospects.
- *Watt, W. M. *Muhammad: Prophet and Statesman*. Oxford, 1961. Based on Watt's excellent two-volume study of the Prophet.

Christian Theology

Christopher L. Morse

The term "Christian Theology" is used here to designate that division of theological studies generally known as "Dogmatics" or "Systematic Theology." Briefly defined, this discipline is *the continuing attempt to understand the present day significance of biblical faith and church tradition*. Thus, it must always seek to take account of developments in biblical exegesis, historical theology, and contemporary modes of thought and practice. Since it endeavors to serve the present, Christian theology remains an ongoing activity, and any bibliography in this field must constantly be revised. The following texts represent only a sampling of the writings which are currently in discussion and available in English. The emphasis is on primary, rather than secondary, sources.

I. MAJOR SYSTEMATIC WORKS

Aquinas, Thomas. *Summa Contra Gentiles* (1259-1264)
Summa Theologiae (1265-1272)

Helpful paperback editions of portions of these monumental works are now available from Image Books. See also A. C. Pegis, *Basic Writings of St. Thomas Aquinas* (Random House, 1945), and Etienne Gilson, *The Christian Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas* (Herder, 1929).

Barth, Karl. *Church Dogmatics*. T. & T. Clark, 1936-62. The most influential theological writings of the twentieth century, these volumes, though massive, remain fertile fields for lively and provocative insight. The entire corpus consists of four volumes published in twelve parts: Vol. I, "The Doctrine of the Word of God," Parts 1 and 2; Vol. II, "The Doctrine of God," Parts 1 and 2; Vol. III, "The Doctrine of Creation," Parts 1, 2, 3, 4; Vol. IV, "The Doctrine of Reconciliation," Parts 1, 2, 3 (in two books), 4 (a fragment). A projected fifth volume, "The Doctrine of Redemption," was never completed. For an "introductory report" on Volumes I:1 to III: 4 see Otto Weber, *Karl Barth's Church Dogmatics* (Westminster, 1953).

Calvin, John. *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (published originally in several editions, 1536, 1539, 1545, 1559). Available in English translation as Vols. XX-XXI in *The Library of Christian Classics* (Westminster, 1956).

*Schleiermacher, Friedrich. *The Christian Faith*, 1830. This text is the foremost representative of nineteenth century Christian thought by one often called "the father of modern theology." En-

glish translations include T. & T. Clark, 1928, and, in paperback, Harper Torchbooks, TB 108, TB 109. Note also *Schleiermacher's *On Religion* (Harper Torchbooks, TB 36), **Brief Outline on the Study of Theology* (John Knox, 1970), and the introduction by Richard R. Niebuhr, *Schleiermacher on Christ and Religion* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964).

Tillich, Paul. *Systematic Theology*. University of Chicago, 1951-63. Tillich's shorter writings are numerous. For a recommended examination of this widely discussed theology of "correlation" see, *Alexander J. McKelway, *The Systematic Theology of Paul Tillich* (John Knox, 1964).

II. ONE-VOLUME SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGIES AVAILABLE IN ENGLISH

Aulen, Gustav. *The Faith of the Christian Church*. Muhlenberg, 1948. This work, by a distinguished Scandinavian theologian, opposes both metaphysical and psychological attempts to arrive at the significance of the Christian faith and seeks the essential ideas behind the traditional formulations.

DeWolf, L. Harold. *A Theology of the Living Church*. Harper, 1960. An example of theology done in the general context of Protestant liberalism.

*Kaufman, Gordon D. *Systematic Theology: A Historicist Perspective*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968. An experiment in exploring the tenets of theology with respect to their historical character. Kaufman's is one of a number of texts in contemporary theology dealing with the question of history.

*Macquarrie, John. *Principles of Christian Theology*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966. A clearly written explication of the Christian symbols and their application which draws upon the ontological insights of Martin Heidegger. Here is theology which strives to be both philosophical and church oriented.

III. KEY BACKGROUND TEXTS FOR UNDERSTANDING CONTEMPORARY THEOLOGY

*Barth, Karl. *Protestant Thought: From Rousseau to Ritschl*. Simon and Schuster, 1959. Barth's perceptive and characteristically original evaluation of Rousseau, Lessing, Kant, Herder, Novalis, Hegel, Schleiermacher, Feuerbach, Strauss, and Ritschl.

*Feuerbach, Ludwig. *The Essence of Christianity*. Harper Torchbooks, TB 11. The reverberations from this radical critique of Christianity, published in 1841, continue to be felt today. See also *Feuerbach's *Principles of the Philosophy of the Future* (Bobbs-Merrill, 1966).

*Harnack, Adolf. *What is Christianity?* Harper Torchbooks, TB 17. Published in 1900, these lectures exemplify the kind

of interpretation prominent in nineteenth century German liberalism.

- *Hume, David. *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*. Bobbs-Merrill, 1947. This eighteenth century refutation of the cosmological argument for the existence of God is one of the classic texts of skeptical empiricism.
- *Kant, Immanuel. *Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone*. Harper Torchbooks, TB FG. The influence of the Enlightenment on Christian thought is clearly seen in this work.
- *Kaufmann, Walter. *Hegel; Reinterpretation, Texts, and Commentary*. Doubleday, 1965. Now in paperback, this study and translation of Hegel's "Preface" to the *Phenomenology* provides access to the thought of one of the nineteenth century's most complex and towering philosophers. See also, Emil L. Fackenheim, *The Religious Dimension in Hegel's Thought* (Indiana, 1967).
- *Kierkegaard, Sören. *Philosophical Fragments*. Princeton, 1936. This is perhaps the best known of Kierkegaard's numerous writings and is essential in seeking to understand the origins of contemporary existentialism.
- *Löwith, Karl. *From Hegel to Nietzsche*. Doubleday, 1964. An excellent analysis of nineteenth century German thought and its implications for Christian faith.
- *Marx, Karl, and Engels, Friedrich. *On Religion*. Schocken, 1964. The primary texts of Marx and Engels concerning religion with an introduction by Reinhold Niebuhr. See also, *Robert Tucker, *Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx* (Cambridge, 1969).
- *Otto, Rudolf. *The Idea of the Holy*. Galaxy, 1958. Otto's famous description of "the holy," published in 1917, in which he discusses his concept of the "numinous."
- *Schweitzer, Albert. *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*. Macmillan, 1959. A thoroughgoing critique of eighteenth and nineteenth century German attempts to depict the Jesus of history which emphasizes the eschatological character of the Gospel.
- Troeltsch, Ernst. *Christian Thought: Its History and Application*. Meridian, 1957. Published originally in 1924, this work continues to influence discussions of historical relativity in current theology. For an introduction and complete bibliography see Benjamin A. Reist, *Toward a Theology of Involvement: The Thought of Ernst Troeltsch* (Westminster, 1966).

IV. PHILOSOPHICAL INFLUENCES IN RECENT THEOLOGY

- Bloch, Ernst. *Man on His Own*. Herder and Herder, 1970. One of several new translations of "the Marxist with a Bible in his hand." This is a good avenue into the "hope philosophy" which has been so important in the development of "theologies of hope." The introduction is by Jürgen Moltmann.
- Heidegger, Martin. *Being and Time*. Harper, 1962. A major source

of insight for those of the Bultmannian tradition. For the later thought of Heidegger see *The Later Heidegger and Theology*, edited by James Robinson and John Cobb (Harper, 1963). A helpful guide is Magda King's *Heidegger's Philosophy* (Delta, 1964).

*Husserl, Edmund. *Ideas: General Introduction to Pure Phenomenology*. Macmillan, 1931. As a companion study see *Quentin Lauer, *Phenomenology: Its Genesis and Prospect*. (Harper Torchbooks, TB 1169).

*Polanyi, Michael. *Personal Knowledge*. University of Chicago, 1958. One of several important contributions to recent thought by Polanyi. For further discussion and analysis see *Intellect and Hope: Essays in the Thought of Michael Polanyi*, edited by Thomas A. Langford and William H. Poteat (Duke, 1968).

*Whitehead, Alfred North. *Process and Reality*. Harper Torchbooks, TB 1033Q. The primary philosophical text for "process theology." In addition note an independent but related study, *Charles Hartshorne, *The Divine Relativity* (Yale, 1948). For the appropriation which has been made of Whitehead in Christian thinking see *Process Philosophy and Christian Thought*, edited by Delwin Brown, Ralph E. James, Jr., and Gene Reeves (Bobbs-Merrill, 1971).

Wittgenstein, Ludwig. *Philosophical Investigations*. Macmillan, 1958. This volume represents Wittgenstein's later thought. His earlier ideas, instrumental in the development of "logical positivism," are published in *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961). Commentaries on Wittgenstein's thought are continually appearing. For a brief introduction see W. D. Hudson, *Ludwig Wittgenstein: The Bearing of His Philosophy upon Religious Belief* (John Knox, 1969).

V. THEOLOGIAN WHO PUBLISHED PRIMARILY IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

(Texts previously listed are not repeated here.)

A. General

Macquarrie, John. *Twentieth Century Religious Thought*. Harper, 1963. A useful compendium of information on over one hundred forty thinkers. Suitable for quick references and bibliographical suggestions.

*Marty, Martin E., and Peerman, Dean G., eds. *A Handbook of Christian Theologians*. World Publishing Co., 1965. Somewhat dated already, but containing helpful sketches of the major figures.

Robinson, James M. *The Beginnings of Dialectic Theology*. John Knox, 1968. A very important collection of some of the earlier

writings of Barth, Brunner, Bultmann, Tillich, Gogarten, and others. Highly recommended.

Smart, James D. *The Divided Mind of Modern Theology: Karl Barth and Rudolf Bultmann, 1908-1933*. Westminster, 1967.

B. Particular selections

*Baillie, D. M. *God Was in Christ: An Essay on Incarnation and Atonement*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948.

———. *The Theology of the Sacraments*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1957.

*Baillie, John. *Our Knowledge of God*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939.

*———. *The Idea of Revelation in Recent Thought*. Columbia, 1956.

———. *The Sense of the Presence of God*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1962.

Barth, Karl. (The Early Period)

**Anselm: Fides Quaerens Intellectum*. SCM Press, 1960. A study of Anselm's method which marked the crucial turning point in Barth's own dogmatic writings.

*———. *The Epistle to the Romans*. Oxford, 1933. The bold commentary which introduced Barth's "dialectical" thinking.

———. *The Resurrection of the Dead*. Hodder and Stoughton, 1933. A consideration of Paul's doctrine of the resurrection.

*———. *The Word of God and the Word of Man*. Harper Torchbooks, TB 13. The sermons and lectures of Barth, the young pastor, 1916-1923.

———. *Theology and Church*. Harper, 1962. Some of the most significant of the early essays. For the thinking of the early Barth see also the highly interesting volume of letters, *Revolutionary Theology in the Making*, translated by James D. Smart (John Knox, 1964).

Barth, Karl. (The Later Period; Two Suggestions among Many)

**Evangelical Theology*. Doubleday, 1963. Highly recommended as a distillation of Barth's mature wisdom. These are the last regular lectures given at Basel.

*———. *The Humanity of God*. John Knox, 1960.

Bonhoeffer, Dietrich. *Act and Being*. Harper, 1956. The earlier works, often overlooked, are essential in assessing Bonhoeffer's later and better known writings.

———. *Christ the Center*. Harper, 1966.

*———. *Ethics*. Macmillan, 1955.

*———. *Letters and Papers from Prison*. Macmillan, 1953. Here we find the themes of "religionless Christianity" and "man come of age" which have figured so prominently in subsequent theologies.

- . *The Communion of Saints*. Harper, 1963. Bonhoeffer's attempt at a theological sociology presented as a dissertation in 1927 when he was twenty-one.
- . *The Cost of Discipleship*. Macmillan, 1963. A discussion of the Sermon on the Mount and a consideration of the devout life. Valuable companion volumes to Bonhoeffer's works are Eberhard Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer* (Harper, 1970), and André Dumas, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer: Theologian of Reality* (Macmillan, 1971).
- Brunner, Emil. *Dogmatics*. Westminster, 1949-1961. A valuable work in several volumes by a major thinker. See also Brunner's *Revelation and Reason* (Westminster, 1947) and *The Divine-Human Encounter* (SCM Press, 1944). These are only a few of his writings.
- Bultmann, Rudolf. *Essays: Philosophical and Theological*, SCM Press, 1955.
- *———. *Existence and Faith: Shorter Writings of Rudolf Bultmann*. Meridian, 1960.
- . *Faith and Understanding*. Harper, 1969.
- *———. *History and Eschatology*. Edinburgh, 1957. Important as a point of view often criticized in more recent eschatological theologies.
- *Niebuhr, H. R. *Christ and Culture*. Harper Torchbooks, TB 3. A brilliant Christological essay by one of the most influential American theologians.
- *———. *Radical Monotheism and Western Culture*. Harper, 1960.
- *———. *The Kingdom of God in America*. Harper Torchbooks, TB 49.
- *———. *The Meaning of Revelation*. Macmillan, 1941. Still widely discussed wherever the issue of faith and history is raised. For a penetrating interpretation of Niebuhr see *Faith and Ethics: The Theology of H. Richard Niebuhr*, edited by Paul Ramsey (Harper, 1957).
- *Niebuhr, Reinhold. *The Nature and Destiny of Man*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949. A theological anthropology by one of America's best known social ethicists.
- *Rauschenbusch, Walter. *A Theology for the Social Gospel*. Macmillan, 1917.
- Temple, William. *Nature, Man and God*. Macmillan, 1934. An Anglican churchman's explication of Christian faith in terms of an evolutionary metaphysic which affirms the values of a "sacramental universe."

VI. SOME CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES

Recent theology does not divide neatly into schools or types. There is much overlapping of concerns, and any classification tends to be arbitrary and for the sake of convenience.

A. Secular Experience

- *Cox, Harvey. *Feast of Fools*. Harvard, 1969.
- *———. *The Secular City*. Macmillan, 1965.
- *Gilkey, Langdon. *Naming the Whirlwind: The Renewal of God-Language*. Bobbs-Merrill, 1969. The thesis is that the secular and sacred dimensions of experience demand each other. Contains a critique of the "radical" theologies.
- Richardson, Herbert. *Toward an American Theology*. Harper, 1967. Argues for faith in a "sociotechnic" age which is more aware of the "theocratic" tradition in American thought.
- *Van Buren, Paul. *The Secular Meaning of the Gospel*. Macmillan, 1963. Analyzes the functional significance of the affirmation, "Jesus is Lord."
- . *Theological Explorations*. Macmillan, 1968.

B. Radical Theologies

- Altizer, Thomas, with William Hamilton. *Radical Theology and the Death of God*. Bobbs-Merrill, 1966.
- . *The Descent Into Hell*. Lippincott, 1970.
- *———. *The Gospel of Christian Atheism*. Westminster, 1966. A declaration of an incarnational theory of reality. The best known but not the best written of Altizer's works.
- Hamilton, William. *The New Essence of Christianity*. Association Press, 1966. Seeks to follow Bonhoeffer's lead that the Christian life centers around the "weakness" of Jesus.
- Keen, Sam. *Apology for Wonder*. Harper, 1969.
- *———. *To A Dancing God*. Harper, 1970. A celebration of the self in an attempt to do theology after "the death of God."

C. Process Theologies

- Cobb, John. *A Christian Natural Theology*. Westminster, 1965. The employment of Whitehead's philosophy in constructive theology.
- *———. *God and the World*. Westminster, 1969.
- Ogden, Schubert. *Christ Without Myth*. Harper, 1961. An appreciative critique of Bultmann which draws upon the metaphysics of Hartshorne.
- . *The Reality of God*. Harper, 1966.
- Pittenger, Norman. *The Word Incarnate*. Harper, 1959.
- Williams, Daniel Day. *The Spirit and the Forms of Love*. Harper, 1968. Recommended as a theological introduction to process thinking.

D. Other Critiques of Classical Theism

- *Dewart, Leslie. *The Foundations of Belief*. Herder, 1969.
- *Teilhard De Chardin, Pierre. *The Phenomenon of Man*. Harper, 1959. One of several works by the late Jesuit scientist proposing an evolutionary panpsychism.

E. Analytical Approaches

- Downing, F. Gerald. *Has Christianity a Revelation?* SCM Press, 1960. Argues that in the biblical view God reveals in the present his salvation, not his selfhood.
- Evans, Donald. *The Logic of Self-Involvement*. SCM Press, 1963. A discussion of creation in the light of the language philosophy of J. L. Austin.
- *Flew, Antony, and Alasdair MacIntyre, eds. *New Essays in Philosophical Theology*. SCM Press, 1955. The controversial papers which have occasioned much subsequent debate. See also James A. Martin, Jr., *The New Dialogue Between Philosophy and Theology* (Seabury, 1966).
- *Harvey, Van. *The Historian and the Believer*. Macmillan, 1966. Concerned with the proprieties involved in crediting historical claims.
- *Hepburn, Ronald. *Christianity and Paradox*. Watts, 1966. A critical examination of certain forms of Christian apologetics.

F. Theological Reason

- Michalson, Carl. *The Hinge of History*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959.
- . *The Rationality of Faith*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1963.
- Niebuhr, Richard R. *Resurrection and Historical Reason*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1957. A valuable study which predates similar arguments in later German theology, *viz.*, that history must be understood from the standpoint of the resurrection.
- Torrance, Thomas. *Theological Science*. Oxford, 1969. The claim is that theology has a particular domain of inquiry which can be specified with scientific rigor.

G. New Hermeneutic

- *Ebeling, Gerhard. *The Nature of Faith*. Muhlenberg, 1961.
- . *Word and Faith*. Fortress, 1963. A theology of the Word of God, viewed as an event of interpretation through language. The most helpful guide to this perspective is *The New Hermeneutic*, edited by James M. Robinson and John B. Cobb, Jr. (Harper, 1964).
- Jenson, Robert W. *God after God*. Bobbs-Merrill, 1969. An analysis of Barth's doctrine of the Trinity and a reformulation employing the "new hermeneutic" theories of Ebeling and Ernst Fuchs.
- . *The Knowledge of Things Hoped For: The Sense of Theological Discourse*. Oxford, 1969. Jenson weaves ideas from analytic philosophy, the hermeneutical discussion, and eschatological theology into an original and illuminating work.

H. Eschatological Theologies

- Braaten, Carl E. *The Future of God*. Harper, 1969.
- Moltmann, Jürgen. *Hope and Planning*. Harper, 1971.

- . *Religion, Revolution, and the Future*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969.
- . *The Future of Hope*. Herder, 1970. Edited by Frederick Herzog. Contains an essay by Moltmann and critical responses presented at the Duke consultation of 1968.
- . *Theology of Hope*. Harper, 1967. Still the best text for considering the thesis that God makes himself known in the language and history of "promise."
- Pannenberg, Wolfhart. *Basic Questions in Theology*. Fortress, Vol. I, 1970, Vol. II, 1972.
- . *Jesus—God and Man*. Westminster, 1968. Recommended as a masterful achievement in christological thought.
- *———. *Revelation as History*. With others. Macmillan, 1968. Essays affirming the eschatological character of revelation.
- *———. *Theology and the Kingdom of God*. Westminster, 1969. A concise statement of Pannenberg's main ideas with an excellent biographical profile by Richard Neuhaus. For criticism and discussion see *Theology as History*, edited by James M. Robinson and John B. Cobb, Jr. (Harper, 1967).

I. Political Theologies

- Alves, Rubem A. *A Theology of Human Hope*. Corpus Books, 1969. The politics of freedom by a young Brazilian theologian.
- *Herzog, Frederick, ed. *Theology of the Liberating Word*. Abingdon, 1971. Articles by Jüngel, Bastian, Kraus, and Conzelmann originally published in German, with an introduction by Herzog.
- . *Understanding God*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966.
- Lehmann, Paul. *Ethics in a Christian Context*. Harper, 1963. A theological ethics of messianic humanization which is one of the sources of political theology in America.
- Metz, Johannes B. *Theology of the World*. Herder, 1969. A Roman Catholic presentation of "critical eschatology" and its political significance.

J. Black Theologies

- *Cone, James. *A Black Theology of Liberation*. Lippincott, 1970. A brief but systematic statement of basic Christian doctrines in the context of the Black experience in America.
- *———. *Black Theology and Black Power*. Seabury, 1969.
- *Jones, Major. *Black Awareness: A Theology of Hope*. Abingdon, 1971.

K. Doctrinal Studies

- Küng, Hans. *Justification: The Doctrine of Karl Barth and a Catholic Reflection*. Thomas Nelson, 1964.
- Rahner, Karl. *Theological Investigations*. Helicon Press, Volumes I-V, 1961-1967. Writings on major doctrines by one of the foremost Roman Catholic theologians. For current Roman Catholic thinking see *Concilium*, a series (Paulist Press, 1965).

- Ritschl, Dietrich. *Memory and Hope: An Inquiry Concerning the Presence of Christ*. Macmillan, 1967.
- Welch, Claude. *In This Name: The Doctrine of the Trinity in Contemporary Theology*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952.
- . *The Reality of the Church*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958.

Philosophy of Religion and Philosophical Theology

Charles Robinson

There is no general consensus—either Christian or secular—as to whether “philosophy of religion” and “philosophical theology” represent one or two distinct disciplines and subject matters, or as to what, if any, their legitimation may be. Some of the authors here represented offer articulate answers to these questions; others tacitly assume answers without articulating them. In drawing up a bibliography one must either delimit narrowly and somewhat arbitrarily or present something of a “hodge-podge.” I have chosen the latter course.

I. SECONDARY-SOURCE HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

Burt, Edwin A. *Types of Religious Philosophy*. Harper, 1939 (first edition). Revised. A standard college introduction.

Cushman, Robert Earl. “Faith and Reason.” *A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine*. Edited by Roy W. Battenhouse. Oxford, 1955. Classic.

———. *Therapeia: Plato's Conception of Philosophy*. UNC Press, 1958. Heavy but rewarding; the best interpretation of the “existential” and religious aspects of Plato's work.

Kroner, Richard. *Speculation and Revelation in the History of Philosophy*. 3 vols. Westminster, 1956, 1959, 1961. A readable and insightful interpretation which sees philosophy as culminating in German idealism and in basic respects antithetical to the heart of Christian revelation.

Mackintosh, Hugh Ross. *Types of Modern Theology: Schleiermacher to Barth*. Nisbet, 1937. A standard seminary introduction to the modern period.

*Thomas, George F. *Religious Philosophies of the West*. Scribners, 1965. A good introductory textbook, which includes critical observations.

Webb, Clement C. J. *Studies in the History of Natural Theology*. Oxford, 1915. A classic study, recently reissued, on Plato, Anselm, Abelard, Aquinas, Herbert of Cherbury, and two lesser known men.

II. SELECTED PRIMARY SOURCES THROUGH THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

*Anselm. *Proslogium; Monologium; Cur Deus Homo*. Trans. Deane. Open Court, 1903.

- Aquinas, Thomas. *Basic Writings of St. Thomas Aquinas*. Ed. Pegis. 2 vols. Random House, 1945.
- . *St. Thomas Aquinas: Philosophical Texts*. Trans. Gilby. Oxford, 1951. A less satisfactory, but briefer and more economical source.
- Areopagita, Dionysius. *On the Divine Names and the Mystical Theology*. Trans. Rolt. Macmillan, 1920. The primary channel of Neoplatinism into Christianity.
- Augustine. *Confessions*. Any modern translation.
- Augustine: Earlier Writings*. (Library of Christian Classics, Vol. VI) Trans. Burleigh. Westminster, 1953.
- *Descartes, René. *The Philosophical Works of Descartes*. 2 vols. Trans. Haldane and Ross. Dover, 1931. Vol. I will suffice.
- *Eckhart, Meister. *Meister Eckhart: A Modern Translation*. Trans. Blackney. Harper, 1941.
- *Feuerbach, Ludwig. *The Essence of Christianity*. Trans. Eliot. Harper, 1957. The Granddaddy of reductionistic psychological-anthropological interpretations.
- *Hegel, Friedrich. *On Christianity: Early Theological Writings*. Trans. Knox. Harper, 1948.
- *Hume, David. *Hume's Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*. Ed. Smith. Bobbs, 1947.
- *———. *The Natural History of Religion*. Ed. Root. Stanford, 1956.
- *Kant, Immanuel. *Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone*. Trans. Green. Harper, 1960.
- *Kierkegaard, Soren. *Philosophical Fragments*; trans. Swenson; Princeton, 1936. **Concluding Unscientific Postscript*; trans. Swenson; Princeton, 1941. **Either/Or*; trans. Swenson; 2 vols., Doubleday, 1959. Antiphilosophical grist for anyone's philosophizing mill!
- *Pascal, Blaise. *Pascal's Pensees*. Trans. Trotter. Dutton, 1958. More antiphilosophical grist!
- Plato. *Collected Dialogues of Plato*. Ed. Hamilton and Cairns. Pantheon, 1961. Standard one-volume edition. (Avoid the Random House Jowett edition.) Read especially Apology, Crito, Euthyphro, Meno, Phaedo, Protagoras, Republic, and Symposium.
- *———. *Great Dialogues of Plato*. Trans. Rouse. Mentor, in print 1972. For those who need to economize!
- *Schleiermacher, Friedrich. *The Christian Faith*. Ed. Mackintosh. Clark, 1928. (A 2-volume Harper paperback is available. "Vol. 1" provides the foundation for much "modern" theology.)
- *Spinoza, Benedict de. *The Chief Works of . . .* Trans. Elwes. 2 vols. Dover, 1951. Vol. 1 will suffice.

III. SOME MAJOR OR REPRESENTATIVE TWENTIETH-CENTURY WORKS

A. Process Philosophy

Bergson, Henri. *Creative Evolution*. Trans. Mitchell. Random House, 1944.

*———. *The Two Sources of Morality and Religion*. Trans. Audra. Doubleday, 1954. Bergson, though less influential than Whitehead, is a major source of process thought.

Cobb, John B. *Christian Natural Theology*. Westminster, 1965. A Whiteheadian type of "natural theology," the "Christian" status of which is less than clear.

*Hartshorne, Charles. *The Divine Relativity: A Social Conception of God*. Yale, 1948. Hartshorne substantially modifies Whitehead in the direction of Biblical theism: "panentheism."

*———. *Logic of Perfection*. Open Court, in print 1972.

Ogden, Schubert M. *Reality of God*. Harper, 1966. A somewhat obscure wedding of Whitehead, Hartshorne, and Heidegger.

*Teilhard de Chardin, Pierre. *The Phenomenon of Man*. Trans. Wall. Harper, 1959. A highly original evolutionary interpretation of theism. Moderately difficult but rewarding for those interested in such an approach.

*Whitehead, Alfred North. *Religion in the Making*. Macmillan, 1957. A fairly readable introduction to Whitehead's intellectualistic and aesthetic process approach to a limited theism.

*———. *Process and Reality*. Free Press, 1929. The *magnum opus*, very difficult.

B. Linguistic Analysis

*Hick, John. *Philosophy of Religion*. Prentice-Hall, 1963. A good, brief, readable introduction to alternative linguistic-analytical approaches, with some expression of the author's views.

Flew, Antony, and Alisdair MacIntyre, eds., *New Essays in Philosophical Theology*. SCM Press, 1955. A collection of essays which constitutes the basis of continuing discussions.

Ramsey, Ian. "On the Possibility and Purpose of a Metaphysical Theology." *Prospect for Metaphysics*. Ed. Ian Ramsey. Allen and Unwin, 1961. Also, **Religious Language*. SCM Press, 1957. Ramsey has been a major contributor to the discussion.

C. Boston Personalism

Bertocci, Peter A. *Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion*. Prentice-Hall, 1951. A somewhat updated version of the Boston approach."

Brightman, Edgar Sheffield. *A Philosophy of Religion*. Prentice-Hall, 1940. An empirically based axiological argument for the

existence and nature of God as personal but finite, including inevitability of some evil in the world.

D. Other Major Works

- *Altizer, Thomas J. J. *The Gospel of Christian Atheism*. Westminster, 1966. Although the position is neither "Christian" nor "Atheistic" (being rather more Hegelian), it does represent a radical version of the Death-of-God "Gospel."
- *Buber, Martin. *I and Thou*. Trans. Smith. Clark, 1937. A landmark in 20th-century interpretation of the Hebraic understanding of human and divine-human interpersonal relationships. Poetic and mystical.
- Hick, John. *Faith and Knowledge*. 2d ed. Cornell, 1966. A phenomenological interpretation of the experience of the mediated presence of God, responsive to linguistic analysis, including a historical section, and concluding with Hick's treatment of "eschatological verification."
- Mascall, E. L. *Existence and Analogy*. Longmans, 1949. A clear contemporary restatement of Thomistic "natural theology."
- *Niebuhr, Reinhold. *Human Nature*. (Vol. I of *The Nature and Destiny of Man*) Scribner, 1949. While Niebuhr regarded himself as neither a "philosopher of religion" nor a "philosophical theologian," the book abounds in philosophical interpretations, often insightful, sometimes controversial.
- Oman, John. *The Natural and the Supernatural*. Cambridge, 1931. An insightful interpretation of the transcendent "Supernatural" as immanently experienceable within the "Natural."
- Temple, William. *Nature, Man and God*. Macmillan, 1934. An insightful and lucid interpretation of Christian theism in relation to classical philosophy and modern science. Perhaps the most enduringly significant philosophical explication of theism in our century.
- Tennant, F. R. *Philosophical Theology*. 2 vols. Cambridge, 1956. A difficult, "empiricist," secular approach to "natural theology."
- Tillich, Paul. *Systematic Theology*. University of Chicago, 1951. Vol. I. The three volumes are available in a one-volume edition. I myself must part company with Tillich's pantheistic ontology. Nevertheless I must also say that Tillich's work is the most brilliant achievement in philosophical theology in our century (comparable to and in some respects surpassing the work of Schleiermacher in the preceding century). The *Systematic Theology* is very difficult; even where it seems simple, the "simplicity" is often delusively misleading. But anyone with any interest at all in philosophical theology should read at least Vol. I, which presents the determinative features of the system.
- *———. *Biblical Religion and the Search for Ultimate Reality*. University of Chicago, 1955. Easier, much briefer, and in some respects clearer than the *magnum opus*.

E. Some Generally Useful, Though not Methodologically Systematic, Works

- Baillie, John. *The Sense of the Presence of God*. Scribners, 1962. Neither of the Baillie brothers, Donald and John, ever wrote a book of less than enduring worth. Neither was a genius—like a Tillich or a Barth—but both sustained the rare virtue of insightful relevance.
- *Frank, Erich. *Philosophical Understanding and Religious Truth*. Oxford, 1945. A lucid Augustinian approach.
- *Gill, Jerry H. *The Possibility of Religious Knowledge*. Eerdmans, 1971. An examination of the cognitive status of religious language, including a critical interpretation of historical background and a methodological sketch for a religious epistemology incorporating elements of J. L. Austin, the “later Wittgenstein,” Polanyi and Ramsey.
- *Ong, Walter J. *The Presence of the Word*. Simon and Shuster, 1970. An examination of the anthropological and theological implications and alterations in culturally dominant media as affecting human sensibilities—of more enduring worth than the whole McLuhan corpus.
- Richardson, Alan. *Christian Apologetics*. Harper, 1947. Of the relatively few books dealing broadly with this general topic, this is still the best.

F. Phenomenological Approaches (see above, Hick, J. Faith . . .)

- Eliade, Mircea. *Cosmos and History*; trans. Trask; Harper, 1954.
- **The Sacred and the Profane*; trans., Trask; Harper, 1959. The most influential phenomenological interpretation of some ancient religious phenomena—not adequate in regard to Greek, Hebraic, Christian or modern religious phenomena.
- *Otto, Rudolf. *The Idea of the Holy*. Trans. Harvey. 2d ed. Oxford, 1958. The classic study.
- *Van der Leeuw, Gerardus. *Religion in Essence and Development*. 2 vols. Peter Smith, in print 1972. A prodigious foundational work, emphasizing power and structure.

G. Science and Faith (see Bergson, Richardson, Teilhard, Temple)

- *Abbott, Edwin A. *Flatland*. Dover, 1952. Written in the last century as non-Euclidean geometries were being developed, it reads as though penned yesterday. A brief, readable, science-fiction type story with mind-blowing anthropological and theological implications. A “must.”
- *Barbour, Ian G. *Issues in Science and Religion*. Prentice-Hall, 1966. Lucid, inclusive: the best introduction to the subject.
- Dobzhansky, Theodosius. *The Biology of Ultimate Concern*. New American Library, 1967. A philosophical-theological interpretation of evolution.
- Heim, Karl. *The World: Its Creation and Consummation*. Oliver

and Boyd, 1962. (Currently available in British paperback.) A brilliant relating of cosmological and evolutionary theories to Christian faith in God as Creator and Consummator.

*Polanyi, Michael. *The Tacit Dimension*. Doubleday, 1966. A brief, readable introduction to the thought of the man whose approach provides a viable way out of the dilemmas and impasses typical of modern epistemological thought.

*———. *Personal Knowledge*. University of Chicago, 1958. The difficult but rewarding *magnum opus*.

H. The Theodicy Question

*Hick, John. *Evil and the God of Love*. Harper, 1966. Out of print here, but available in British paperback. Critical historical survey and some contribution toward a more adequate Christian approach centering in a doctrine of universal eschatological redemption. The only work of its kind.

Christian Ethics

Waldo Beach

- Barbour, Ian. *Science and Secularity: The Ethics of Technology*. Harper & Row, 1970. Parts given as the Gray Lectures at Duke, by a scholar as competent in physics as in theology.
- *Beach, Waldo. *The Christian Life*. John Knox Press, 1966. An introduction to Christian ethics, designed for use in adult church study groups.
- Beach, Waldo, and Richard Niebuhr, eds. *Christian Ethics*. Ronald Press, 1955 (rev. ed., 1973). A source of introductions and source materials from the Bible to contemporary ecumenical ethics.
- Bennett, John C., ed. *Christian Social Ethics in a Changing World*. N.Y. Association Press, 1966. A WCC symposium by Christian scholars from East and West; uneven quality.
- DeWolf, Harold. *Responsible Freedom: Guidelines to Christian Action*. Harper & Row, 1971. From a liberal theological standpoint, a clear, solid statement of Christian ethical norms for major policy issues.
- *Fletcher, Joseph. *Situation Ethics*. Westminster Press, 1966. A briskly-stated provocative statement of the new Christian morality, between legalism and lawlessness. A bit flimsy on close study, but a valuable shocker.
- *Forell, George, ed. *Christian Social Teachings: A Reader in Christian Social Ethics*. Doubleday, 1966. Four hundred and eighty tightly packed pages of short pieces from the Bible through John XXIII.
- Gardner, Clinton. *Biblical Faith and Social Ethics*. Harper & Brothers, 1960. An application of biblical motifs interpreted in the theological categories of Richard Niebuhr to marriage, economics, politics, and race. A student textbook.
- *Gustafson, James and James Laney, eds. *On Being Responsible: Issues in Personal Ethics*. Harper & Row, 1968. Excellent source materials from contemporary theologians on the meaning of responsibility in speech, in sex and marriage, and in politics.
- *Hill, Samuel S. *Southern Churches in Crisis*. Beacon Press, 1966. Carefully documented analysis of the perils of evangelical pietism.
- *Jersild, Paul and Dale Johnson, eds. *Moral Issues and Christian Response*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971. A rich mine of current discussion on the church and social policy, sex, race, conflict, and bio-medical revolution.
- Long, Edward Leroy, Jr. *A Survey of Christian Ethics*. Oxford University Press, 1966. The most complete coverage at hand of major schools and trends.

- McClaren, Robert and Homer McClaren. *All to the Good: A Guide to Christian Ethics*. World Publishing Company, 1969. Authored by father and son, a simple and concrete introduction, based on solid scholarship, to principles of the Christian life.
- Nelson, James. *Moral Nexus: Ethics of Christian Identity and Community*. Westminster Press, 1971. A student of Richard Niebuhr, Nelson makes a closely-reasoned, psychologically and sociologically informed case for Christian self-hood and community.
- *Niebuhr, H. Richard. *Christ and Culture*. Harper & Row, 1951. A probing analysis of five major typologies of managing the tension between the opposing demands of Christ and the world.
- *———. *Radical Monotheism and Western Culture*. Harper & Brothers, 1960. Deeply probing Christian analysis of the dynamics of secular culture and its hidden faith-premises.
- . *The Responsible Self*. Harper & Row, 1963. The nearest thing to a definitive statement of Niebuhr's Christian ethical theory; requires close study, but rich in rewards.
- *Outka, Gene and Paul Ramsey, eds. *Norm and Context in Christian Ethics*. Scribner's, 1968. A symposium of scholars, Catholic and Protestant, explore in depth the issues in the situation ethics debate.
- *Ramsey, Paul. *Deeds and Rules in Christian Ethics*. Scribner's, 1967. A provocative, turgid, teasing, subtle case for a "principled" ethics.
- Santmire, Paul. *Brother Earth; Nature, God and Ecology in Time of Crisis*. Thomas Nelson, 1970. Theologically informed; one of the best among the new books on this theme.
- Smith, Harmon, and Louis Hodges. *The Christian and His Decisions*. Abingdon, 1969. Parts I and II an anthology of sources on theological premises, Part III a statement of the co-authors' principled contextualism.
- *———. *Ethics and the New Medicine*. Abingdon, 1970. A brilliant study on the ethical dilemmas posed in abortion, artificial insemination, organ transplantation, and care of the dying.
- *Thomas, George. *Christian Ethics and Moral Philosophy*. Scribner's, 1955. A standard text, lucid and solid, perhaps a bit outdated. Final section on interrelation of Christian with secular value-theory.
- *Tillich, Paul. *Love, Power and Justice*. Oxford University Press, 1954. Brief, close-packed reflections.
- West, Charles. *The Power to be Human: Toward a Secular Theology*. Macmillan, 1971. A series of essays more than a systematic treatise, ecumenically-informed.
- *Wynn, J. C., ed. *Sex, Family, and Society in Theological Focus*. Association Press, 1966. Symposium by nine scholars; helpful study guide at the conclusion.

Christian Nurture

Arthur Kale

I. ORIENTATION

- *Bushnell, Horace. *Christian Nurture*. Yale University Press, 1947. The pre-eminent classic, more than a century old, but still foundational for Christian thought and practice. The Yale edition includes helpful introductions by Williston Walker and Luther A. Weigle.
- Butler, J. Donald. *Four Philosophies and Their Practice in Education and Religion*. 3rd ed. Harper & Row, 1968. A useful guidebook in reviewing characteristic practices of major thought systems in the fields of education and religion.
- Comenius, John Amos (1592-1670). *The Great Didactic*. Translated by M. W. Keatinge. Adam and Charles Black, 1896. A famous and continuously relevant pedagogical treatise, offering a philosophy of Christian education combined with genuine concern for sound methodology.
- Cully, Kendig Brubaker. *The Westminster Dictionary of Christian Education*. Westminster Press, 1963. All about Christian education from A to Z, with hundreds of contributors, and extensive bibliography.
- Pestalozzi, Johann Heinrick (1746-1827) *Leonard and Gertrude*. Translated and abridged by Eva Channing. D. C. Heath and Company, 1885. An educational classic with a stress on "loving discipline." Emil Brunner has called Pestalozzi "the Christian educator *par excellence*."
- Rood, Wayne R. *Understanding Christian Education*. Abingdon Press, 1970. A survey of educational philosophies and their implications for today.
- Strommen, Merton P., ed. *Research in Religious Development*. Hawthorne Books, 1971. A comprehensive handbook, sponsored by the Religious Education Association, that brings together the results of seventy-five years of research in religion. Through the collaboration of many scholars this volume provides "a semester's survey course" for professionals and experienced laymen.
- Taylor, Marvin J., ed. *An Introduction to Christian Education*. Abingdon, 1966. Valuable compendium by thirty-two Christian educators, dealing with foundations, administration, programs, methods, materials, agencies, and organizations. Helpful chapter bibliographies and extensive selected bibliography supplied by editor.

II. FOUNDATIONS OF CHRISTIAN NURTURE

- Chamberlin, J. Gordon. *Toward a Phenomenology of Education*. Westminster, 1969. An exploration of the "wholeness" of education, focusing on eight factors: learning, settings, culture, institutions, processes, prescripts, understanding, and philosophy.
- . *Freedom and Faith*. Westminster, 1965. Contains evaluations of the works of Randolph C. Miller, Lewis J. Sherrill, and James D. Smart and proposes new approaches to Christian education.
- Grimes, Howard. *The Church Redemptive*. Abingdon Press, 1958. A volume that is meeting the test of time; one that reflects upon the church as the community in which Christian nurture takes place.
- *Nelson, C. Ellis. *Where Faith Begins*. John Knox Press, 1967. Best recent treatment of communication of faith by the community of believers. Needed corrective to individualism of some psychological approaches.
- Pruyser, Paul W. *A Dynamic Psychology of Religion*. Harper & Row, 1968. An important consideration of the psychological meanings of theological propositions. Hailed by some reviewers as the successor to William James' *The Varieties of Religious Experience*.

III. THE CHURCH SCHOOL

- Bruner, Jerome S. *Toward a Theory of Instruction*. W. W. Norton and Company, 1966.
- Bugelski, B. R. *The Psychology of Learning Applied to Teaching*. 2nd ed. Bobbs-Merrill, 1971.
- *Clemmons, Robert S. *Education for Churchmanship*. Abingdon Press, 1966. A guidebook for helping the layman find his place and fulfill his role.
- Cully, Iris. *Children in the Church*. Westminster, 1960.
- DeWolf, L. Harold. *Teaching Our Faith in God*. Abingdon Press, 1963.
- Erikson, Erik H. *Identity: Youth and Crisis*. W. W. Norton and Company, 1968.
- *Goldman, Ronald. *Religious Thinking from Childhood to Adolescence*. Seabury, 1960.
- *———. *Readiness For Religion*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965.
- Hilgard, Ernest R., and Bower. *Theories of Learning*. Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948.
- *Howe, Reuel. *Man's Need and God's Action*. Seabury Press, 1953. A consideration of the interrelationships of psychology and theology. Frequently quoted and widely used.
- Lynn, Robert W. and Elliott Wright. *The Big Little School*. Harper & Row, 1971. An unusual volume evaluating, with fairness

and gratitude, the contributions of the Sunday school as Protestantism's major vehicle in confronting the meaning of man's life and destiny. An appropriate response to the severely critical analysts of recent decades.

- Miller, Randolph Crump. *Christian Nurture and the Church*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961. The author is one of the major influences in recent times and has written many books. This one is selected as representative of his position regarding the church as a redeeming community.
- *Rood, Wayne R. *The Art of Teaching Christianity*. Abingdon Press, 1970.
- Sherrill, Lewis J. *The Gift of Power*. Macmillan, 1955. A major contribution by another outstanding leader among modern interpreters of Christian nurture, a volume which stresses education as "changes in the self."
- *———. *The Struggle of the Soul*. Macmillan, 1951. A substantial consideration of man's encounter with God, from infancy to the grave.
- *Sloyan, Gerard S., ed. *Shaping the Christian Message*. Macmillan, 1958. Leading Roman Catholics present basic concepts, history, psychology, and methodology.
- Smart, James D. *The Creed in Christian Teaching*. Westminster, 1962.
- . *The Teaching Ministry of the Church*. Westminster, 1954. A basic consideration of the confrontation between theology and educational theory and practice.
- Snyder, Ross. *Young People and Their Culture*. Abingdon Press, 1969.
- Wyckoff, D. Campbell. *Theory and Design of Christian Education Curriculum*. Westminster, 1961. A sourcebook for planners and evaluators of curriculum at all levels, local and denominational.

IV. EDUCATIONAL REFORMATION

- *Holt, John. *How Children Fail*. Dell Books, 1967.
- *———. *How Children Learn*. Dell Books, 1967.
- *Illich, Ivan. *Deschooling Society*. Harper & Row, 1970.
- *Postman, Neil, and Charles Weingartner. *Teaching As a Subversive Activity*. Dell Books, 1969.
- Silberman, Charles E. *Crisis in the Classroom*. Random House, 1970.
- Ward, Leo R. *Religion in All the Schools*. Fides Publishers, 1960. A practical proposal on how religion may be included in the public schools.

The first five books in category IV represent the current ferment in public education and have relevance for the teaching ministries of Christian churches. They will be found stimulating by individuals and groups who are unhappy about outdated teaching methods and who seek fresh proposals for change.

Preaching and Worship

Thor Hall

The following bibliography represents an attempt to bring together a few select sources within several categories related to preaching and its setting within Christian worship. It is in no way exhaustive, nor is it definitive, but it does claim to be representative of the best in homiletical writing at the present time.

I. BIBLIOGRAPHIES

The Reading List. The Bishop's Reading Program. Institute of Homiletical Studies, Western North Carolina Conference, United Methodist Church, (Available from Dr. Cecil L. Heckard, Cole Building, 207 Hawthorne Lane, Charlotte, N.C. 28204.) Contains a listing of books on preaching currently in print; also annotated bibliographies of current recommendations, award books, etc. A very useful tool for continuing education.

Toohy, William, and William D. Thompson. *Recent Homiletical Thought, 1935-1965.* Abingdon, 1967. This is a good reference work for serious students of preaching; well-arranged; annotated.

II. HISTORICAL OVERVIEWS

An important area of study which recently has received increased attention is the history of preaching. The following is a list of the most suggestive sources in this field:

*Brilioth, Yngve. *A Brief History of Preaching.* Fortress, 1965. An excellent sketch of the development of Christian preaching from the beginning and into the 20th century.

Holland, DeWitte, ed. *Preaching in American History.* Abingdon, 1969. A collection of analytical essays of great importance for understanding the American pulpit, what it is, and from where it has come.

*Mitchell, Henry H. *Black Preaching.* Lippincott, 1970. Filling in a gap in the general knowledge of the role of preaching in the Black community.

Pinson, William M., Jr., and Clyde E. Fant, Jr. *Twenty Centuries of Great Preaching.* Word Books, 1972. A mammoth reference work of twenty volumes which will serve both specialists and general practitioners; contains bibliographies, biographies, analytical essays, sermons, homiletical theories, illustrative material, etc.

III. BASIC TEXTS

The present generation of homiletics has not given much attention to the development of basic textbooks on the theory and practice of preaching. Since the Blackwood era, only two basic texts worth attention have appeared.

- Davis, H. Grady. *Design for Preaching*. Fortress, 1958. Presents a dynamic (or organic) concept of the development of sermons.
- Jones, Ilion T. *Principles and Practice of Preaching*. Abingdon, 1956. A clear and practical overview of the whole enterprise of preaching, including goals and methods.

IV. PREACHING AND LITURGY

There is a fairly strong new movement toward the recovery of liturgical awareness of the church today. Several important sources focus on the interaction of preaching and the liturgical calendar.

- Abbey, Merrill R. *The Shape of the Gospel; Interpreting the Bible Through the Christian Year*. Abingdon, 1970.
- Bass, George M. *The Renewal of Liturgical Preaching*. Augsburg, 1967.
- *Kleinhans, Theodore J. *The Year of the Lord; the Church Year: Its Customs, Growth and Ceremonies*. Concordia, 1967.
- Maring, Norman H. *The Christian Calendar in the Free Churches*. Judson, 1967.
- White, James F. *The Worldliness of Worship*. Oxford, 1967.

V. BIBLICAL PREACHING

Attempts are now being made to upgrade the preacher's use of the Bible in the pulpit. This is an area of great importance, in view of the need for responsible exegesis and understandable exposition. Helpful perspectives for the enlightened preacher are presented in the following books.

- Bright, John. *The Authority of the Old Testament*. Abingdon, 1967.
- Miller, Donald G. *The Way to Biblical Preaching*. Abingdon, 1957.
- Stevenson, Dwight E. *In the Biblical Preacher's Workshop*. Abingdon, 1967.
- Vööbus, Arthur, and H. Grady Davis. *The Gospels in Study and Preaching*. Fortress, 1966.

VI. PREACHING AND THE PASTORAL MINISTRY

A crucial issue for the contemporary preacher is how to hold together the prophetic and the pastoral roles of ministry within the preaching event. Sources helpful in developing a communal view of preaching are available.

- *Howe, Reuel L. *The Miracle of Dialogue*. Seabury, 1963.
 Howe, Reuel L. *Partners in Preaching*. Seabury, 1967. This is the source for understanding the dynamics of communal preaching.
 Linn, Edmund H. *Preaching as Counseling*. Judson, 1966.
 MacLennan, David A. *Pastoral Preaching*. Westminster, 1955.

VII. PRACTICAL SOURCES

Some recent books seek to bring up to date the consideration of technical matters, such as sermon construction, illustration, delivery, etc.

- Baird, John E. *Preparing for Platform and Pulpit*. Abingdon, 1968.
 Macpherson, Ian. *The Art of Illustrating Sermons*. Abingdon, 1964.
 Stevenson, Dwight E., and Charles F. Diehl. *Reaching People from the Pulpit: a Guide to Effective Sermon Delivery*. Harper, 1958.

VIII. PREACHING AND THE COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA

Great effort is now being made to help preachers acknowledge, understand, and utilize the potential values of the new communications media. The most suggestive sources are the following:

- Jackson, B. F., Jr., ed. *Communication for Churchmen*. 4 vols. Abingdon, 1970—.
 Reid, Gavin. *The Gaggling of God: the Failure of the Church to Communicate in the Television Age*. Hodder & Stoughton, 1969. A British critique, equally relevant to the American scene.
 *Rice, Charles L. *Interpretation and Imagination: the Preacher and Contemporary Literature*. Fortress, 1970. Very useful, practical source on the utilization of secular literature in Christian preaching.
 Sellers, James E. *The Outsider and the Word of God*. Abingdon, 1961. Shows appropriate caution in the evaluation of the media.

IX. THE GROWING EDGE OF HOMILETICS

With all that is going on in theology, hermeneutics, linguistics, personality theory, etc., teachers of homiletics now have the task of rethinking their discipline and developing a perspective that is of promise for the future. The following sources represent the most suggestive contributions now on the market.

- *Hall, Thor. *The Future Shape of Preaching*. Fortress, 1971. Redefining the nature and shape of preaching in the light of recent developments in communications theory, ecclesiology, and theological methodology.
 Malcomson, William. *The Preaching Event*. Westminster, 1968. Modern concepts of personality and community inform this book.

Randolph, David J. *The Renewal of Preaching*. Fortress, 1969.

Looking at preaching from the standpoint of the new hermeneutic.

Sittler, Joseph. *The Anguish of Preaching*. Fortress, 1966.

Thielicke, Helmut. *The Trouble With the Church*. Harper, 1965.

Undoubtedly the sharpest yet most constructive critique of the contemporary pulpit.

Thompson, William D., and Gordon C. Bennett. *Dialogue Preaching: the Shared Sermon*. Judson, 1969. A descriptive study of various ways of experimenting with dialogue in the pulpit.

In addition to the books listed, there is also a considerable amount of important material published in the form of articles and essays in the *Christian Century*, *The Ministry*, *Christian Advocate*, *Journal of Pastoral Psychology*, *Interpretation* (especially the "From Text to Sermon" series, now available in reprints directly from the publisher), *Theology Today*, and *Religion in Life*.

Pastoral Care and Counseling

Paul A. Mickey

I. BASIC TEXTS

A. Principles and Procedures

- *Hiltner, Seward. *Pastoral Counseling*. Abingdon, 1949. Notes at the end are good. Text is somewhat dated but still far ahead as a statement of principles.

B. History

- Clebsch, William A., and Charles R. Jackle. *Pastoral Care in Historical Perspective*. Prentice-Hall, 1964. An interesting historical account using an eight-part typology.

C. Pastoral Care and Pastoral Theology

- Browning, Don. *Atonement and Psychotherapy*. Westminster, 1966. A significant systematic, interdisciplinary effort.
- Hiltner, Seward. *Preface to Pastoral Theology*. Abingdon, 1958. A beginning; now augmented by *Theological Dynamics* (Abingdon, 1972) which is the beginning of an effort to develop a "systematic pastoral theology."
- *Homans, Peter. *Theology After Freud*. Bobbs-Merrill, 1970. What happens to the "therapeutic man" who has no guilt is covered, both theoretically and practically.
- Williams, Daniel D. *The Minister and the Care of Souls*. Harper & Row, 1961. Also *The Spirit and The Forms of Love*. Harper & Row, 1968. A "process theology" approach to the Christian experience of love.

II. GENERAL

A. General

- Brister, C. W. *Pastoral Care in the Church*. Harper & Row, 1964. A good, sound general introduction, with some pioneering work on the role of the laity.
- Hiltner, Seward. *The Christian Shepherd*. Abingdon, 1959. Focuses on several special groups.
- Oates, Wayne E., ed. *An Introduction to Pastoral Counseling*. A Southern Baptist Symposium. Useful introduction to various aspects of pastoral care.

B. Age Groups

- *Howe, Reuel L. *Man's Need and God's Action*. Seabury, 1953. Among other emphases, an introduction to the pastoral care of children.

C. Alcoholism

Alcoholics Anonymous. Works Publishing Company, 1939. The "bible" of the movement. A copy is useful to have on hand.

Clinebell, Howard J. *Understanding and Counseling the Alcoholic through Religion and Psychology*. Abingdon, 1956. Defines the problem and considers the causes. Deals with the psychodynamics of a religious approach to the problem, ethical considerations, counseling.

D. Death and Bereavement

Irion, Paul. *The Funeral and the Mourners*. Abingdon, 1954. Discussion of various aspects of bereavement from psychodynamic and religious points of view. Presents some case material. Also, *Funeral: Vestige or Value?* Abingdon, 1971.

*Kubler-Ross, Elizabeth. *On Death and Dying*. Macmillan, 1969. A popular psychotherapeutic approach, but sound.

Lindemann, Erich. "Symptomatology and Management of Acute Grief." *Journal of Pastoral Care*, V, 3 (Fall, 1951), 19-31. This is the classic article in this area. Data came from disastrous Coconut Grove fire in Boston.

E. Small Groups

Casteel, John, ed. *The Creative Role of Interpersonal Groups in the Church Today*. Association Press, 1968. A valuable survey by a pioneer in the field.

*Leslie, Robert. *Sharing Groups in the Church*. Abingdon, 1970. A classic introduction with emphasis on successful use of nonprofessional leadership.

*Oden, Thomas. *The Intensive Group Experience*. Westminster, 1972. Written by one who has bridged the interdisciplinary gap well in previous volumes, this is an excellent examination of the strengths and weaknesses of "the new pietism."

Reid, Clyde. *Groups Alive—Church Alive*. Harper & Row, 1969. A basic handbook outlines crucial elements of small group life, drawing on sound research.

Richards, Lawrence. *A New Face for The Church*. Zondervan, 1970. A Baptist approach toward a serious restructuring of the church along "group" lines. Provocative.

*Rogers, Carl. *Carl Rogers on Encounter Groups*. Harper & Row, 1970. The old master as a new master.

F. Marriage and Premarital Counseling

Johnson, Dean. *Marriage Counseling, its Theory and Practice*. Prentice-Hall, 1961. An approach to marriage counseling via psychoanalytic ego-psychology and sociology. Specific techniques advocated require special training, but much of general value to the pastor.

Lederer, W. J., and D. D. Jackson. *The Mirage of Marriage*. Norton,

1968. A systems approach with special reference to communication processes.

Stewart, Charles. *The Minister As Marriage Counselor*. rev. ed. Abingdon, 1970. A good practical guide, especially helpful for premarital counseling.

G. Ethical-Medical

Smith, Harmon. *Ethics and The New Medicine*. Abingdon, 1971. Some important theological concerns are raised with reference to what it means to be a "person" and "individual" in extreme circumstances.

H. Mental Illness

*Boisen, Anton T. *The Exploration of the Inner World*. Harper Torchbook, 1962. The pioneering classic among modern studies of religion and mental illness.

White, Robert W. *Abnormal Psychology*. 3d ed. Ronald Press, 1964. A classic in the field.

I. Physical Illness

Cabot, Richard, and Russell Dicks. *The Art of Ministering to the Sick*. Macmillan, 1936. This is the classic work in this area by a great physician and a leader in the field of pastoral care. Though this work lacks a dynamic approach to personality, it nevertheless contains much of value in terms of the minister's general approach to the sick. As in Dicks' other works (see especially his more recent *Toward Wholeness and Health*, 1960, and earlier *Comfort Ye My People*), the prayers are outstanding.

III. RELATED AREAS AND CORRELATIONAL WORKS

A. General Treatments of Personality

Allport, G. W. *Pattern and Growth in Personality*. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1961. The revised version of Allport's famous text on *Personality* (1937). Emphasis on integration of cognitive and emotional aspects of personality.

Erikson, Erik. "Identity and The Life Cycle," Vol. I, Nr. 1, *Psychological Issues*. International Universities Press, 1959. Erikson's systematic.

Rapaport, D., and M. Gill. "The Points of View and Assumptions of Metapsychology." *The Collected Papers of David Rapaport*. Basic Books, 1967. A short statement of current thinking about the substructure of the Freudian position regarding personality. Excellent "ego psychology" perspective.

B. Personality Viewed from Leading Psychotherapeutic Positions

*Freud, Sigmund. *New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*. Norton, 1933. A summary of Freud's revision of his system done in the 1920's. In essence his final position.

*———. *General Introduction to Psychoanalysis* (Parts I and II). Liveright, 1935. Freud's basic discoveries and, equally important, his general approach to the question of personality.

*Jung, C. G. *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*. Pantheon, 1953. This work is perhaps the best introduction to Jung's position. He is second only to Freud in influence in Europe, though his direct influence in this country is still relatively slight. Though his work is unsystematic and labyrinthine, he has provided many still unexplored clues for future research.

Rogers, Carl R. *Counseling and Psychotherapy*. Houghton Mifflin, 1942. Basic statement of Rogers' point of view, since modified in detail.

*Sullivan, Harry Stack. *Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry*. William Alanson White Psychiatric Foundation, 1947. Sullivan has left a lasting impression upon American psychiatry. "Self" theory played in the "interpersonal" key.

C. Personality Viewed Within Cultural Contexts

*Adorno, T. W., et al. *The Authoritarian Personality*. Harper, 1950.

*Erikson, Erik H. *Childhood and Society*. 2d rev. ed. Norton, 1969. This is a pioneer study in the relationship of psychoanalytic personology to cultural factors in development. See especially Erikson's cultural-personal developmental stages.

D. The Psychosomatic approach to Personality

*Alexander, F. *Psychosomatic Medicine*. Norton, 1950. Alexander was the longtime leader of the "Chicago School" in psychoanalysis and his position regarding psychosomatic relationships, along with those of Dunbar and Deutsch, has been the most influential. A "specificity" position with the concept of the "central nuclear conflict" seen as focal. See also his article "Fundamental Principles of Psychosomatic Research: Psychogenes, Conversion, Specificity," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, V (1943), 205-210.

E. Selected Approaches to Psychotherapy

*Fromm-Reichman, Frieda. *Principles of Intensive Psychotherapy*. University of Chicago Press, 1950. A variation on the standard long-term analysis, stressing involvement on the part of the therapist.

Glasser, William. *Reality Therapy*. Harper & Row, 1965. A behavioral approach in which the past cannot be changed or allowed to be used as an excuse for present irresponsibility.

*Rogers, Carl R. *Client-Centered Therapy*. Houghton-Mifflin, 1951. Also *On Becoming A Person*. Houghton-Mifflin, 1961. These two books by Rogers were published at intervals of a decade (the last 1961) and present the development of the thinking of the most therapeutically influential psychologist of the modern

era. Rogers has moved from the position of the inventor of a new technique to a stress on attitude and relationship (though these latter emphases were never absent from his work).

- *Sullivan, Harry Stack. *The Psychiatric Interview*. W. W. Norton, 1954. Here Sullivan presents his "interpersonal" approach to clinical interviewing. He was regarded as the unsurpassed master of interviewing even by many critical of his overall position.

F. Approaches to the Relationship between Psychological and Religious Factors in Personality

- *Allport, G. W. *The Individual and His Religion*. Macmillan, 1950. An important study showing differences in personality and behavioral patterns related to degrees of religious concern and involvement.
- *Erikson, Erik H. *Young Man Luther*. Norton, 1958. A sensitive interpretation of Luther's early experience from a combined cultural and psychoanalytic point of view.
- *Freud, Sigmund. *The Future of an Illusion*. Liveright, 1953. In this short work Freud stated his central case against religion. Should be familiar to every religious worker.
- *James, William. *The Varieties of Religious Experience*. Modern Library, 1902. This work, though now about 70 years old, is still the best single introduction to the study of psychology and religion. Already a classic of world literature.
- *Jung, C. G. *Psychology and Religion*; Yale University Press, 1938. *Aion*; Pantheon Books, 1959. *Answer to Job*; Routledge and Paul, 1954. These three volumes contain the core of Jung's complex thought about the significance of religion in personality. Religion as a manifestation of the collective unconscious with which every individual must somehow come to terms.
- Pruyser, Paul. *A Dynamic Psychology of Religion*. Harper & Row, 1968. A reasonable, challenging effort to supplement and surpass William James' study of religious experience. Incorporates significant dimensions of modern dynamic psychology.

Church and Community and Church Planning

Robert L. Wilson

I. GENERAL

- Banfield, Edward C. *The Unheavenly City*. Little, Brown, 1970. A stimulating analysis of the nature and future of the urban crisis which challenges some of the current assumptions.
- *Binzen, Peter. *Whitetown USA*. Random House, 1970. A study of the Kensington area of Philadelphia, a white working-class neighborhood.
- *Brzezinski, Zbigniew. *Between Two Ages*. Viking, 1970. An analysis of the effect of technological development on contemporary society.
- Drucker, Peter F. *The Age of Discontinuity*. Harper & Row, 1969. An interpretation of the major changes taking place in contemporary society by an industrial planner.
- Gans, Herbert A. *People and Plans*. Basic Books Inc., 1968. An application of social science data to the issues confronting urban planners and others concerned about the future of the cities.
- *Toffler, Alvin. *Future Shock*. Random House, 1970. A popular book which interprets the effect of rapid social change on the individual and society.

II. CHURCH

- Leiffer, Murray H. *The District Superintendent in the United Methodist Church*. Bureau of Social and Religious Research, 1970. A report of a study of the men who serve as District Superintendents, their task and professional relationships.
- *Schaller, Lyle E. *The Change Agent*. Abingdon, 1972. A book on the limitations and potential for planned social change and the religious leader's role in this process.
- *———. *Parish Planning*. Abingdon, 1971. A practical book on planning in the local church with an emphasis on how to get things done.
- Smith, Rockwell C. *Rural Ministry and the Changing Community*. Abingdon, 1971. An application of the insights of rural sociology to the church; written for both the pastor and the laymen.

III. CHURCH ADMINISTRATION

- Glasse, James D. *On Putting It Together in the Parish*. Abingdon,

1972. Some fresh insights and practical suggestions on the task of the parish minister.

Judy, Marvin T. *The Cooperative Parish in Nonmetropolitan Areas*. Abingdon, 1967. The best treatment of the various ways to organize rural churches into parishes.

———. *The Multiple Staff Ministry*. Abingdon, 1969. The most comprehensive treatment of the multiple staff, its problems and potential.

General Reference Books

Donn Michael Farris

- Altaner, Berthold. *Patrology*. Herder & Herder, 1961.
- Bartlett, John. *Familiar Quotations*. Little, Brown, & Co., 1968.
- Black, Matthew, and H. H. Rowley, eds. *Peake's Commentary on the Bible*. Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1962.
- Brandon, S. G. F., ed. *A Dictionary of Comparative Religion*. Scribners, 1970.
- Brauer, J. C., ed. *The Westminster Dictionary of Church History*. Westminster, 1971.
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- Cully, K. B., ed. *Westminster Dictionary of Christian Education*. Westminster, 1963.
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Periodicals

The following is a brief list, in no particular order, of some periodicals recommended for pastors and other ministers. With only a few exceptions, technical journals have been omitted, as have denominational magazines.

Engage. 100 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. \$5.00/yr. Semi-monthly. Publication of the General Board of Social Concerns of the United Methodist Church.

Interpretation. 3401 Brook Rd., Richmond, Va. 23204. \$7.00/yr. Quarterly. A highly recommended journal in biblical and theological studies.

Christianity in Crisis. 537 W. 121st Street, New York, N.Y. 10027. \$7.00/yr. Biweekly. "A Christian journal of opinion."

The Christian Ministry. \$4.00/yr. Bimonthly. A journal devoted to professional issues of the parish ministry. (See below for address.)

The Christian Century. \$12.00/yr. Bimonthly. Order both *The Christian Ministry* and *The Christian Century* for \$15.00/yr. The Christian Century Foundation, 4075 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill. 60605.

Journal of Pastoral Care. 475 Riverside Dr., New York, N.Y. 10027. \$8.00/yr. Quarterly. Published by the Association of Clinical Pastoral Education. For those particularly interested in pastoral counseling, a more technical, research-oriented journal reflecting a CPE orientation.

Katallagete. No set subscription rate; occasional request for donations. Committee of Southern Churchmen, P.O. Box 12044, Nashville, Tenn. 37212. Monthly.

Pastoral Psychology. 400 Community Drive, Manhasset, N.Y. 11030. \$5.00/yr. Monthly except July and August. Designed to keep the minister up to date with contemporary issues in pastoral psychology and counseling.

Church History. American Society of Church History. 321 Mill Road, Oreland, Pa. 19075. \$10.00/yr. Quarterly. The official organ of the American Society of Church History.

Journal of Biblical Literature. Society of Biblical Literature. 1010 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. \$15.00/yr. Quarterly. The official organ of the Society of Biblical Literature.

Religion in Life. 201 Eighth Avenue, Nashville, Tenn. \$5.00/yr. Quarterly.

Religious Education. The Religious Education Association. 545 West 111th Street, New York, N.Y. 10025. \$12.50/yr. (membership includes subscription). Bi-monthly. The official organ of the Religious Education Association.

Theology Today. P.O. Box 29, Princeton, N.J. 08540. \$5.00/yr. Quarterly.



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Seeking the Historical Roots of Christianity: The Duke Symposium on Christian Origins

by JAMES H. CHARLESWORTH

Following the International Congress of Learned Societies in the Field of Religion, which was held in Los Angeles September 1-5, two European scholars returned home by way of Durham, and the school year began with a Duke Symposium on Christian Origins. The Symposium was organized so that the Duke community could be enriched by the international spirit from the Congress. This purpose was realized and something more; our guests left Duke praising the excellence of the school and the atmosphere conducive to research and reflection.

Our distinguished guests were M. J. de Jonge of the University of Leiden in the Netherlands and A. R. C. Leaney of the University of Nottingham in England. Professor de Jonge is one of the world authorities on the non-canonical books composed during Jesus' life, the so-called pseudepigrapha, and the leading specialist on The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.¹ His lecture in York Chapel on The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs is being published in the *Svensk Exegetisk Arsbok* (Uppsala) and in the M. Richard Festschrift, to be published in the series *Texte und Untersuchungen*.

Professor Leaney is one of the foremost British New Testament theologians, having published critical commentaries on Luke, Timothy, Titus, Philemon, I and II Peter, Jude;² and the only thorough discussion of the theology in the Manual of Discipline,³ the most im-

1. *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Assen, 1953); *Testamenta XII Patriarcharum*² (Leiden, 1970). He also authors one of the best commentaries on the Johannine Epistles; and there is hope it will be soon translated into English. *De Brieven van Johannes* (Nijkerk, 1968).

2. *A Commentary on the Gospel according to Luke* (London, New York, 1958); *The Epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon* (London, 1960); *The Letters of Peter and Jude* (Cambridge, 1967).

3. *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning* (London, Philadelphia, 1966).

portant Dead Sea Scroll, which was so named because of the similarities to the Methodist Discipline. Leaney's lecture, which is printed below, concentrated upon the historical background and theological meaning of John 14:16, "I will ask the Father and he will give you another Paraclete. . . ."

The highlight of the Symposium was the banquet, attended by President Sanford and Chancellor Blackburn, and the subsequent discussion on the problems scholars encounter today as they devote their lives to a sensitive re-appreciation of our cherished texts. As I prepared for that discussion I wondered if our guests would confess the temptation to ignore that one's own faith commitment may manipulate the verses so as to reaffirm its own truth. Perhaps, one of the leaders would contend that the major problem was the increasing gap between the advancing sophistication of Biblical research and the retreating interrogative dimension of contemporary faith. Or perhaps, someone would placard as most problematic the explosion of secondary literature which often screens the New Testament itself. Would another raise as most important the decreasing recognition of the Bible's authority among the average citizen, and even believer? For the discussion that did evolve I turn you to the following transcript and trust that you will not fail to appreciate the humanity of Rien de Jonge and Bob Leaney.

Symposium on Christian Origins: Banquet Discussion

James L. Price: These friends from abroad have agreed to "let down their guard" tonight and to talk not about their great achievements and successes, but their current battles in the course of their scholarly research. They have been asked to comment on the topic "My Biggest Problem in the Study of the Bible Today." We will ask Dr. de Jonge to begin.

de Jonge: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Having been presented with yet another book this evening, it may be a bit awkward at this juncture to call for a whole library of books which I should like to be written. So perhaps I should begin somewhere else. You are all aware that the New Testament is a very small book. It goes into anyone's pocket. We have all been using pocket editions all our lives. The trouble with the New Testament is, of course, that so much has been written about it. The average professor in my country cannot cover the literature on even one group of writings within this book, which is not merely a book but a library. In seeking subjects for graduate students to work on, we find that by the time they have gotten at the literature they are apt to forget what the literature is about. I would like to comment along the same lines of my esteemed colleague from Nottingham that you are apt to find yourself dealing with the commentators and not with the text they are commenting upon. Now, strange as it may seem, much has been written upon subjects which need not have been written upon and very little has been written and is being written on some subjects which need further study.

At this particular juncture in these surroundings of a very well-established university and reknowned department of religion, divinity and graduate school and with esteemed colleagues who really know what they would like to be doing and share many of their concerns with me, I should like to think that my biggest problem in the field is that so much is yet unknown about the world in which the several writings of the New Testament originated. James Robinson and

Helmut Koester have tried to outline the plans for their futures at least along the lines of "trajectories." They are on to something which is really valid. We do not just have a book or a library of books defined against a rather static environment. Christian thought has had a development within a world with many trajectories, many developments, very complicated and interacting on one another. Perhaps the first-century world was just as difficult to keep together, to put together and to make together into one comprehensive view as our world is. And there these Christians were, trying to find their way about and to express the faith they had along the lines of various trajectories. One of them has been explained to us by Dr. Leaney in his lecture. There are very many others. In fact we should say that while they were trying to find their way about they were defining their own faith and changing their own faith. Anything which is alive will never be static but will change. The truth is a continuity of change. That would be the point where I agree very much with Robinson and Koester.

Yet if we only glance at their book we realize that while you can speak about trajectories you can't define them or describe them, because of the many unknown points. Of course a few mountains stand out everywhere. The mountains are, however, like icebergs. In looking down upon icebergs for the first time in my life when we flew over Iceland and when we proceeded to Greenland, I observed that they go under water for literally ages and ages and suddenly they come up again. Now I would just want to remind you about the little we know about Gnosticism. Some know far more than I, but even they know very little, simply because the sources have not been studied properly. I would like to remind you about the world of pseudepigrapha and Hellenistic Jewish literature in general. Much has been written about it, but no one has really grasped the thing, or if someone has grasped it he must go on grasping at it, for it is such an elusive matter. I would remind you also of the field of early rabbinics. Of course we know a great deal about rabbinics, but I discovered at the Los Angeles AAR section chaired by Dr. Meyers that the specialists in rabbinics were not at all pleased with themselves. The particular problem of dating back rabbinic traditions in the time before 150-200 AD is a major problem still to be faced. And that is exactly the thing New Testament scholars are interested in.

If I were to approach my subject from another angle, I would

like to emphasize how much textual work remains to be done. It needs to be done in teams, for it is not just a question of a Greek text or a Hebrew original. It also involves Armenian, Old Slavonic, Ethiopic and others. No one of us can do all that on his own. Even the very editions of the texts are not there in very many cases. And they can only be brought together by different people—perhaps in a school like Duke where you have so many people together in what I should certainly call very quiet and ideal surroundings.

We should also approach the problem from the angle of history of traditions. It is fascinating seriously to follow a certain set of traditions in various combinations from 200 BC to an ancient Christian writing somewhere in Syria from 150-200 A.D. Even the methodological principles with which we could work—despite the contribution the Germans have made in this area—are not yet adequately established.

Why am I saying all this? Not because I want to say that we've been writing about the New Testament so much let's forget about it and not even read it but rather work on all these other things instead. But you cannot define the exact place where all these people in the New Testament are standing or are moving along if you haven't defined all these other things before. If you want to be true to the essential truth of the Bible message or to the message of the New Testament you have to take into account the tension, the pressure, the almost superhuman attempt of these early Christians to define what was essential to them (with the help of the Paraclete, I should say) in their surroundings. And this historical contextual consideration warns us not to label in haste just any new thing we might encounter as "Jesus" or "Christian" or "Jewish" or "modern" or "antiquated." It calls upon us to express our faith in obedience to Jesus and the tradition in which we stand with an open eye to the things which are expected from us in the present day. I think that is not only the scholar's main problem, but the Christian's main problem at this particular juncture and perhaps at all junctures.

Leaney: It is interesting to me to see how the thoughts of Professor de Jonge and my own cross at certain points. I would certainly not disagree with anything he has said. I will state as concisely as I can my problem: Biblical studies are bound to affect what we think Christianity is. I have to put it this way because I can't help being a Christian, and I guess our Jewish friends would be able

to translate what I am saying into something of equivalent sense to themselves.

My problem is really about Christianity and myself and my pupils as Christians or believers. This is something of a confession for me to make because I intend to teach the New Testament academically and critically. I believe I must do that. I do not believe that as a teacher in the university I am called on to win people to the Christian faith. But one's psyche or something in one's psyche has a way of rising up and kicking oneself in the stomach from inside now and again. And when one's psyche or some element in one's psyche does this, it says you've got to mind about those students as persons whatever you say about academic integrity and all the rest. They are people.

What then is the right view of Christianity in this connection? Is it the whole phenomenon, a very multiple one, as it has developed through the centuries, very various in form, adapted to places, to people, to ages, to climates even? So would be said by many famous people like Cardinal Newman and, in a different sphere, by Alfred Loisy. But—and here is my insoluble problem—if Jesus was *the* revelation of God as we Christians believe, must we not find out as accurately as we can who and what he was and what he actually taught and what he meant when he taught it? And if that is a duty laid upon us, we need to use historical criticism to get down to these essentials. And that I suppose was the attempt of Harnack and people like him who sought the historical Jesus in order to discover how it “really happened” or to discover what the “essence of Christianity” is.

If I take this road, I depend on my own judgments about what did as historical fact belong to the real Jesus and what did not. Then Bultmann's “ghost”—although I can't say ghost because thankfully he's still alive—but his spirit (small “s”) looms up and haunts me. He says you must not let your faith depend on historical judgment. Now there is nothing original in this, but the problem is in one very minor sense new in that it is now far worse—as is everything else—than it ever was. Now they—you know how you say “they” when you refer to somebody else—all right then, Professor Käsemann begins to tell me not only that we do not know the essence of Christianity but that it never existed in any “essential” way in the first place. The New Testament, they tell me, is a collection of fragments

already developed beyond recognition from an originally multiple and diverse proclamation. How am I to find what Christianity originally was? It now becomes not only difficult or undesirable but sheerly impossible.

But do not pity me. I see the real relevance of all this and my problem is that I see all of this in my dual personality, what my wife not irreverently calls my "two-way stretch." My two-way stretch is between being a teacher and being a clergyman. But I am not all that troubled because I'm very old fashioned in some ways. I think there is history in the New Testament, even in the Gospels. I think we do know and can discover some true things about Jesus and the essence of Christianity. Perhaps far more important than that, after all, for the Christian believer—and if I may dare to say so, speaking as one who has been called one of the *'oheveh yehudim*, also for the Jew—there is the living God. He hasn't gone away yet.

Question Period

Eric Meyers: I noticed from both your remarks something that has been noticeably absent. At the American School's luncheon and symposium on the theme "Biblical Studies, a Reappraisal and Methodology," the two men representing New Testament Biblical scholarship discussed the relevance of archeology in the Albright sense, not in the the strictest sense of pots and sherds, but in a much broader sense. This has been so noticeably absent from New Testament scholarship that I think it has really handicapped the discipline. Really to come to grips with the historical matrix of Christianity, the social-economic-cultural sphere out of which it emerged, I think one has to be sensitive and also trained so that one can interpret the new data from the turn of the era and the early centuries after the turn of the era. That's a major problem for me and I am working to rectify it.

Certainly I would reinforce the statement of Dr. de Jonge about rabbinic studies. I find it remarkable that of all the disciplines represented in the university New Testament studies, at least in America, less so in continental Europe, has divorced itself from the original languages which contribute to the context of this matrix—present company excluded. I find this fact a shocking lack in Biblical scholarship. Whereas most programs in Old Testament studies will go to great lengths to learn a dead language, that is dead by the time

Biblical Israelites lived—Sumerian, Accadian, other languages—our New Testament students rarely have more than a semester of Aramaic. Most never read a Rabbinic text, even at the dissertation level. These are the contemporary witnesses, the contemporary documents, and for New Testament scholarship to proceed without rectifying these two areas is a shortcoming I cannot understand. Only a project such as the Compendia—Dr. de Jonge's effort—and a few other efforts at certain places are working on this problem. If the Los Angeles meeting is any indication of the way things go, I fear things will not change at least in the near future. I hate to sound so pessimistic, but this is my awful assessment of the matter.

de Jonge: I would gather that Dr. Meyers and I agree completely on the second issue. As far as the first issue is concerned I think he's right there too. My failure to mention archeology stems partly from my ignorance and the fact that I have never been dealing with other than written, literary evidence. But I would like to emphasize that most of British scholarship—I am not thinking about American scholarship because that is so diverse—has a tendency to identify historical questions with literary questions too easily. I would say of course it is important to know what did Galatia look like and what we do know about Jewish and Christian communities in Galatia at the time the Epistle to the Galatians was written. Yet our foremost and first duty is to interpret the text as it stands. We should not think that as a result of having determined the usage of the word "Galatia" by whatever evidence or having answered the Northern or Southern Galatia question by traveling around in Galatia as W. M. Ramsey did our approach to the Epistle to the Galatians would be basically altered. Perhaps this is a rather provocative statement, but I find most scholarship along these lines rather naive.

Meyers: I would like to quote Albright. He said that one sherd, one inscription could cause him to revoke any view. And he was on many occasions in his life forced into a position of having to change his view. I would also like to question the notion that archeology and material, artifactual evidence do not necessarily enhance the literary quest. In Albright's view they go hand-in-hand. One should not deny the other.

Orval Wintermute: I would just like to remind you of a couple of examples that everybody knows. New Testament scholars of an earlier age in their study of the Gospel of John were able by studying

the text itself to date the composition of the Gospel of John in the middle of the third century. And then they found a fragment of the Gospel of John in Egypt which was dated on the basis of epigraphy to 125. This does something to a kind of myopia which looks only at the text. New Testament scholars also dismissed mention of Gallio as a bit of New Testament fairy tale. And the archeologists dug up an inscription with Gallio mentioned, right where the New Testament put him. Archeology is very relevant for the text in light of some of the mistakes people have made.

de Jonge: I was aware of these facts of course. Every word is spoken to a certain condition and in a certain situation. I would never have emphasized what I emphasized in my second statement if Dr. Meyers hadn't emphasized the other point of view. I would of course say that archeology, papyrology and epigraphy, are important. The very danger that "literary" people run is docetism. They just think that texts have been written to other texts and turns of mind have been confronted with turns of mind. They don't take into account that the people who have been writing them were ordinary people—extraordinary people but ordinary people as well—in certain economic-social-political-religious contexts. I only wanted to make sure that we do not over-emphasize that point. That is why I took such a "neutral" example as the Southern and Northern Galatian theory. That theory really does not enter into the matter.

Leaney: In connection with the Fourth Gospel, Albright used to argue that the topographical knowledge of Jerusalem evidenced in the Gospel belonged to a period before the fall of Jerusalem and must have been brought out of Jerusalem to wherever the Gospel was written before the destruction of Jerusalem. Now this is a nice piece of archeological argumentation and extremely interesting, but unless we add very careful source criticism, literary criticism, etc. we will probably make the terrible error of saying that the Gospel was therefore written very close to AD 70 and that these topographical allusions are sufficient to date it. None of us would do this.

Meyers: Precisely. Albright was one of the earliest to argue for a Palestinian context for the Fourth Gospel.

Leaney: Fine. But the point is at what date did all this congeal together in the mind and on the pen of the final redactor? This cannot be decided by archeology. I don't think I want to disagree with

you at all but only to urge, as you are also urging, that all this must be brought together.

Meyers: The fact of life, however, is that we are not together except for a few meetings and occasional projects.

Leaney: How can we be, when the subject is so flittering all over the place? Somebody said at Los Angeles that there aren't any New Testament scholars any more. There might be a Pauline scholar and a Johannine scholar and a Dead Sea Scrolls-cum-New Testament scholar, etc. We are so diverse because there is so much to study along the lines of these sub-topics that you can't be a New Testament scholar any more. And that perhaps is the important thing we should all be emphasizing. There should be increasing cooperation so that we can do something against this "losing the forest."

Harold Liebowitz: I think one of the reasons why there has been a greater stress of reliance placed on archeology of the Old Testament period is that you don't have so many contemporary documents which complement the Old Testament as you do the New Testament. The New Testament period is one replete with classical sources. I think there is a natural tendency to rely upon all these contemporary sources.

James Little: Could I take up a point Dr. Leaney raised about the "two-way stretch"? As a fellow countryman . . .

Leaney: Fellow countryman? He is a Scottish scholar and I am an English scholar!

Little: And probably a Calvinist as well! But to the "two-way stretch" bit. I find myself in much the same position as you, except that I have gone at some points the opposite way. I have allowed my intellect to sit on my Calvinism and eradicate my faith stance at many points in my thinking. I find myself doing this out of a somewhat questionable matrix of a personal faith stance which is a kind of Tillichian theology or a Gnosticism of some kind. But your concern for the historical Jesus as a priceless source for the understanding of Christianity is one that obviously bothers me as a New Testament scholar in search of the meaning of the origins. One of the things that worries me about New Testament criticism is that we allow the concerns for tracing "Christianity" to the Jesus of history to inform our scholarship.

Now I find it very interesting that Käsemann and the post-Bultmannians find it possible in many cases to find the historical

Jesus when Bultmann would say himself that it would be impossible or invalid. For himself he was unwilling to make that step. What worries me about Käsemann, on the other hand, and many of his contemporaries is that we tend to let our faith inform our exegesis of the text. Therefore Käsemann and others have set certain criteria for finding the historical Jesus. I would prefer to take a phenomenological view, in so far as I understand Husserl, and put in parentheses that question of the historical Jesus and eliminate it from my thinking as a personal factor for me and let the sources themselves talk to me as much as possible. I have the same problem as you, however, in that when I go into class for example to teach, particularly in this part of the country where many students come from a Bible background, it is a very difficult thing to do. I don't want them to run away with the impression that Käsemann, for example, is the way to approach the New Testament. So there is an opposite kind of two-way stretch going on, which is very interesting. It is hard to know just how to resolve it.

Leaney: I am, as you can gather from my remarks, highly sympathetic to this. I would only emphasize also that this two-way stretch takes place in one's own self. It is not only because you are faced with it in the classroom. This is where it is brought to light, perhaps, where you can point to it and explain it as we are doing now. But in fact it is going on in the breast of everyone, I should think, in some form or other.

Little: Wouldn't you agree, though, that there is a tendency for us sometimes to want to defend what we feel is "Christianity" and thus let it inform our exegesis of the text? And feel heretical, by the way, if we don't do that? There is a sense in which we put bonds on ourselves.

Leaney: In other words, there may well be at work a predisposition towards a simple faith which predisposes us to come to naive conclusions because this is really psychologically what we want. I suppose I might easily be a stock victim in my life of precisely that. I don't think so, of course, but I might easily be. This I think is *the* problem with which we all have to live.

Meyers: I don't think we have to live with it at all. I think someone should speak here for the "academic study of religion," which has a most distinguished history in this country. I don't see a two-way stretch at all. I don't have it. I know many of my colleagues

don't have it. I think the dividing lines are quite clear for many or most of us. I find no problem with the matter at all. When I'm up in class I'm doing my thing. My thing is scholarship. My private life and personal faith have nothing to do with anything I do in class.

Price: Do you honestly believe that this cannot intrude itself even surreptitiously into one's scholarly activity. You don't feel any tension, any feeling that sometime your naive faith may be truer than your intellectualization?

Meyers: No. I don't feel that at all.

D. Moody Smith: I think we're really talking about two things here. On the one hand, objectivity in the study of religious documents. On the other hand, a peculiar Christian theological problem of making decisions about authenticity or inauthenticity of Jesus tradition. Standing within the Christian tradition, you know this has some non-academic kind of relevance. I was impressed with something Perrin said in the Gospels Seminar in Los Angeles. He said he has lost some interest in trying to decide this question of authenticity versus inauthenticity in the Jesus tradition because in fact there are a great many instances in which all we can say is that this could possibly be an authentic saying of Jesus but we cannot know for sure that it is. He thinks that he would just like to stop with that statement, which is as far as he feels he can go as a scholar attempting to deal with the tradition. I think that scholars feel pressure theologically in two different ways. I think the more conservative scholar feels a kind of pressure to affirm as much of the tradition as authentically Jesus as possible. On the other hand, I'm not so sure that there isn't another kind of pressure that operates, either the pressure of bending over backwards or a certain kind of theological presupposition that the less one needs to affirm of worth the better. Thus Bultmann let everything burn that would burn, and this suited his theological point of view.

Meyers: A parallel problem for Old Testament research might be the seminar we had in Los Angeles on Abraham as an historical figure. Now it bothers me little whether the weight of evidence will shift in favor or against Abraham as an historical figure, whether he is of the 18th century or of the 12th, whether he was a quasi-historical figure or a non-historical figure or merely a figure in a narrative. I think scholars just have to read it as they see it. It poses absolutely no problems for me even though I'm a Jew.

Smith: I don't think the examples are quite analogous.

Meyers: Would the historicity of Moses be a better analogy?

Leaney: I think you haven't got this problem as a Jew. There is no analogy whatever. You could be like Talmon who said to me that Judaism is a practice and not a belief. But can you be satisfied with this theologically? What is the authority for your practice? A Christian, of course, knows what sort of answer he has to try to find and that he would need to abandon his practice as well as his belief if he becomes quite sure he is unable to find it. I don't see any logic in your point of view at all.

Liebowitz: I think the logical analogy is the problem of the documentary hypothesis. I personally see the problem there in Old Testament studies in terms of faith and belief. Once this is accepted and established in any form as thoroughly and exhaustively legitimate then there arises the question: what is the basis of your belief? It does away and really demolishes the theory of a God-given word. I personally see this kind of faith crisis around the area of the documentary hypothesis, modified as it may be here in the middle of the 20th century. When I think in terms of faith problems I don't see any posed by archeology or by comparative literature and history. I think the only real problem for Old Testament religion is posed by the documentary hypothesis. The peculiar thing about this is that a university in Israel, that is Bar Elon, the University in Israel which is religiously oriented, is afraid to teach archeology, which I think is really harmless in terms of the problem of faith, but they are out to teach Bible, which is where I think the faith problems lie. I personally see that as the analogous problem, whatever answer you come up with.

Wintermute: I've been trying to think if there are any areas which Dr. de Jonge has missed in his list. What about the study of mystery religions? Is that being done adequately? Is most recent research being incorporated into our knowledge of the New Testament?

de Jonge: The answer is no. But we've been taught to take this not too seriously because most of the archeologists—and most of the written texts are epigraphic—point to the end of the second century for the evidence. Indeed that would come in under early Christianity. But most New Testament scholars would draw a dividing line at around 200. That's why I didn't mention it. Of course I could have

mentioned part of the Hellenistic-Roman surroundings in the first and second centuries, but this is mainly important from the direction of Hellenistic Judaism. You have to approach Christian apologetics in the second century, Justin Martyr, etc., through Hellenistic-Jewish apologetics. This of course is not to deny the fact that you've got to go directly to Roman sources also. But I was only asked to speak about the most pressing problems at the moment. I had to make a selection.

John Sharpe: In your selection you speak about the producing of the texts that will be of value to the New Testament scholar. But it seems that so many of these pressing problems are predicated on "dirty work," such as archeology, which is very dirty and slow business. And very dirty and slow business is that of discovering the texts themselves. I am constantly amazed as I prepare descriptions of manuscripts of material which is overlooked or unused. It seems that I find myself wanting to put aside the difficult things and enjoy the business of theologizing or speculating on the basis of what information I have before me instead of seeking additional information which may inform specifically the discovery and description of new texts and the decipherment of additional texts, whether they are New Testament or pseudepigraphical. I appreciate very much your speaking to the point of the texts, but I would just like to give one more plug for the point that they still have to be found, they still have to be deciphered, details still have to be unearthed.

de Jonge: Quite right. You'd be amazed how much material there is which had never been looked at. It is shocking that the two volumes of Kautzsch (1900) and the two volumes of Charles (1913) about the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha made a certain selection and decided upon the text used by New Testament scholars for the rest of the century. The very fact that Charles has not been replaced yet because we have insufficient people to work on it means that Charles' views, which were very radical and very admirable at the time but are totally and absolutely antiquated now, are still found in all the commentaries on the New Testament. And only if you happen to know something yourself about certain writings, e.g., the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, do you recognize that Charles' views are absolutely trashy. Let's be blunt. We aren't in Britain are we? And if I know a little of three or four documents and know how to use them, I am perfectly aware of the fact that there are many things I know absolutely nothing about. I

see that I myself and my colleagues are at great pains to find subjects for doctoral dissertations for New Testament graduate students. They come up again with a project which just means reading the bibliography and creating just another hypothesis, if it is a bright man; or reading all the stuff and giving an annotated bibliography at the end, if it is the average student; or just making a mess of things and not getting anywhere, if it is a below average student who has done so much hard work that you just can't refuse him the degree. (I suppose that happens in your university too.) But I would rather have one doctoral dissertation on part of the evidence and another chap in the same school writing a dissertation on still another part of the evidence and finally someone putting it all together and producing something new in teamwork, rather than having just another dissertation on some subject.

Sharpe: It is interesting that the texts we are using are based on editions that are about 100 years old.

de Jonge: And on at most half of the available evidence.

Sharpe: In a number of cases at most one-fifth.

de Jonge: And then you come to the commentaries and all the rest. I might, however, speak to another problem which bothers me. Even in my country, which has valued classical education very much, we shall be faced with the problem of people not having any Greek or Latin when they come to the divinity school. That is yet another problem, for the only way we can handle my main problem is that you have people who come to the university with sufficient background and fundamental knowledge to handle these things. It's jolly difficult, as we have seen in Old Testament studies, to train a man right from the start in certain languages so that he can achieve worthwhile things by the time he's a graduate student.

Price: Inevitably such a discussion as this will lead you to true confessions and to the acknowledgment of the limits of scholarship. I think we have been stimulated by the recognition that much needs to be done and should bring this to a close.

The Historical Background and Theological Meaning of the Paraclete

by A. R. C. LEANEY

Let me first say something about the work of New Testament scholars, especially those who study the literature and thought—largely within Judaism—of the world which saw the birth of Christianity. I cannot speak wholly for my colleagues in this, but my own desire is to try to alter radically the direction of our studies so as to find an entirely different way of understanding Christianity.

If anything is depressing to me about “modern” interpretations of Christ, such as *Superstar* and *Godspell*, it is their terrible traditionalism: their attempt to interpret the material without any of the basic knowledge or skills which would enable them to go about the job properly. The trouble is that we look back at Jesus and the birth of Christianity with all its events through the distorting stained-glass windows of our churches. What we do not realize is that the distortion is not only visual but also conceptual. We may try desperately to see Jesus with new and unprejudiced eyes, but we still look through the same glass of history which presents us with the Christ of Chalcedon, whose formula preserved the truth that in the thought-language of that day Jesus was both divine and human. And the composers of *Superstar*, etc., further distort this already refracted image.

How many of us start from the one undeniable fact, that Jesus was a Jew of the first century of our era? Our work is founded on that fact. We seek to understand what has been witnessed about him and the events of which he is the centre by studying the world in which he lived as a Jew with the whole of a Jew's heritage. As far as I am concerned, I wish to abandon for ever the Chalcedonian Christ, not because it is in error—it is not—but because it no longer says anything which really means anything to us. If you think it does, define

what you mean by "divine" and "human." I wish to abandon it also because much of what we think about Jesus is to my mind totally mistaken. The whole structure has to be dismantled, inspected bit by bit, and reassembled when we have examined and understood the pieces.

This may be far too radical for my colleagues. Others may think that what I want to do can be done best by handing over the whole thing to orthodox Jewish scholars, who know a rabbi when they see one and can reinterpret Jesus along those lines. The attempt is constantly made but with the same sort of success as with Superstar or other such wild notions. It is extremely doubtful whether Jesus was a rabbi. Indeed, was he orthodox? How far was he a child of his time? One has only to ask these questions to see how far we are from answering them without further intensive study. Now, the interpretation which has concealed Jesus from us started with the New Testament. There is no Gospel which presents us with Jesus as he actually was. Nor will there ever be a modern interpretation which does so. What can actually be done is to make a thorough study of that very strange thought-world and present the total picture for others to look at. We are trying to start on the edges of that task, to leave on one side the years between us and Jesus and make ourselves as familiar as we can with the world which existed *before* he was born, and round about him during his lifetime.

The tiny contribution which I am seeking to make here is concerned with the Fourth Gospel and in particular with one of the concepts which it uses. It is well-known that the author uses together three ideas or concepts in connexion with teaching about the Holy Spirit. Now here come one or two main points which illustrate my theme as already set out.

First, there is no doubt in my own mind that here we have not the words of the Jesus of history, but the ideas either of the author of this Gospel or of the source he was using at this point. (For there is no doubt in my mind that this Gospel is composed of a number of sources, but I really do not know how to delimit them and cannot go into all that!) The Gospel is the latest to be written and contains the thoughts of Christians who often put them into the mouth of Jesus.

Second, rather surprising perhaps, is that we must ask the question, *Is this teaching about the Holy Spirit?* For brevity's sake I will say at once that it seems to me not to be so, but to be primarily about other concepts, and that the author, who controls all the

sources and ideas which he is putting together, says in effect that the concepts which he is introducing are equivalent to what other Christians call either the Holy Spirit (with capitals, all proper) or holy spirit (without capitals and meaning something whose origin is decidedly pre-Christian).

Third, something which follows from the second, the author is *bringing together* these three ideas, Paraclete, Spirit of Truth and holy spirit. I emphasize this because for literally hundreds of years we have assumed that he is writing primarily about the Holy Spirit and that he introduces the other terms as ways of describing the Holy Spirit; he is the spirit of truth and he is the "comforter." Not so, but far otherwise! The author of chapters 14-16, at least, is interested primarily in the Spirit of Truth and the Paraclete, and these must be explained in their own right.

Let us refer now to the passages with which we are concerned; in many passages we find the SPIRIT (without epithet) used: 1.32,33; 3.5,6,8,34; 4.23,24; 6.63; 7.38-39; (11.33); (13.21); (19.30). In 20.22 the risen Jesus says to the disciples 'Receive holy spirit' and it seems that we ought to understand 'spirit' in this way in all these other passages, i.e., impersonally. The block of material represented by chapters 14-16 and I John demands special consideration and the passages relevant for our purposes are set out below.

John 14:16: I will ask the Father and he will 14.17
 give you another PARACLETE, that
 he may be with you for ever, the SPIRIT OF TRUTH

John 14:26: The PARACLETE, the (holy) SPIRIT
 which the Father will send in my
 name . . . will teach . . .

John 15:26: When the PARACLETE comes,
 whom I will send to you from
 the Father,
 the SPIRIT OF TRUTH who
 comes forth from the
 Father . . .

John 16.7: If I do not go away,
 the PARACLETE will certainly not come to you
 16.13: When he (the Paraclete) comes, the SPIRIT OF
 TRUTH will lead you into all truth

I John 2.1: We have a PARACLETE with the
Father . . .

I John 4.6: We belong to God; he who knows (acknowledges)
God listens to us, he who does not belong to
God does not listen to us. From this we know

(recognise) the
SPIRIT OF TRUTH and the
SPIRIT OF ERROR (deceit,
leading astray).

The divisions which are immediately apparent suggest that the Gospel is made of different strata, as would be argued also on other grounds by experts on the subject. My immediate purpose is merely to point out the remarkable fact that in so many passages the author uses the term "the spirit" or just "spirit," and there can be little doubt that the meaning is best arrived at simply, i.e. by trying not to misjudge from already held concepts.

Israel had long thought of God as spirit, and as such contrasted with "flesh" to which general category his creation belonged. Man belonged to "flesh" but was thought of in a way which we moderns might like to call "amphibious"—a creature which lives in two worlds, in this case those of "flesh" and "spirit." This is because God had breathed into man his spirit and this spirit gave him life. It remained uncertain and vague whether this life was the life of all living things or whether the fact that God had breathed into man *his* spirit meant that man possessed at least potentially life in the divine sense, i.e. eternal life.

Other concepts overlapped rather than dovetailed neatly into these already not altogether consistent beliefs. One was that God gave his spirit on certain occasions to provide extra physical strength (Samson) or extra wisdom (Solomon) or special revelation about the significance of contemporary events (the prophets). Another was that the spirit of holiness (special fitness for and belongingness to God) was the wonderful gracious gift granted by God to his own people alone, and that they might obscure or even lose it through sin, but that he would restore it to the penitent. Such ideas became absolutely paramount in importance when God seemed to leave his people and to allow them to be defeated and broken; and when he himself made, so to speak, a formal departure from his temple so that he no longer

dwelt among them. Hence we find the psalmist asking "Make me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me" or "Take not thy holy spirit from me" and the prophet saying that the Lord would suddenly come to his temple (again) but he would come in such manner as would make him unwelcome at least to those unready for him and such coming would be like a scouring.

The age of Jesus believed in the possibility of the return of God's spirit to his people and some thought it would be by way of the gift of the Messiah whose privilege it would be to restore that spirit to the really faithful. How to be really faithful and so ready to receive the spirit of that holiness which enabled a man to be the associate of God: this exercised the minds of all serious religious men among the Jews of the time of Jesus and for centuries before. Some thought keeping the Law as they had always known it was enough (e.g. Pharisees), others that you must fight for God and Israel (Zealots), others that the Law must be reinterpreted with very great strictness and that an extremely dedicated life must be undertaken for the purpose of cleansing the people and thus becoming fit for the spirit (Qumran). There were many interpretations of what cleanness meant, but for all it was primarily a matter of keeping the Law and for many perhaps a matter of levitical or ceremonial "cleanness." But it was possible that God would restore his spirit in some measure before his final gracious act, and perhaps to some favoured person or persons. Hence the Fourth Gospel's picture of John the Baptist, whose baptism was (like all baptism of the time) for cleansing, making holy. John recognised on divine authority the descent of the holy spirit, i.e., the spirit which God had always in the past been ready to bestow on his people, upon one chosen one. Jesus was that chosen one.

Let us now turn to what the Gospel says about this spirit. If we look at the references already set out we see that three bracketed ones refer to the spirit of Jesus himself—his inner self, his life. These passages need not concern us. Chapters 14-16 are special, and we shall return to them presently. We are thus left with a number of passages which are easily understood on the basis of the simple points which I have been making about Israel and her relation to God, except for 7.38-39 and 20.22 which, however, now fit exactly into the picture. Jesus possesses the spirit of God in full measure and speaks of its necessity; and in 7.38-39 the author refers in poetic but in-

telligible terms to the spirit which Jesus was to give to his followers. This promise is fulfilled as far as the eleven are concerned in 20.22, a passage which is misunderstood unless we appreciate its rabbinic language. The apostles receive the spirit to discern what is absolved and what requires absolution.

We need not therefore, and indeed we do better if we do not, think in terms of The Holy Spirit for this considerable section of the Gospel. Think simply of Jesus being able to restore after his resurrection the spirit which united God of old to his people.

We turn now to the passages in chapters 14-16. We shall have to say something about the Spirit of Truth. Since the discovery of the scrolls at Qumran, we know that this is not a mere further description of some other entity already named but a clear and important personification of a conception current in at least one corner of Judaism. Much work has been done recently on the belief expressed fully in a now classical passage, 1QS 3.13-4.26, that the Spirit of Truth and the Spirit of Deceit were two opposing personal or quasi-personal principles in the universe which influenced the characters and destinies of men. This work has tended to show that the doctrine had a long traceable history, beginning with the sharp sense of opposition in the world between faithful Israel and opposing nations in Maccabean times. Elaborated by means of the thought typical of that found in the book of Daniel, by the Old Testament notions of the Day of Yahweh and of the Holy War, it produced a world-history outlook which expected a final struggle between the forces of good and evil, or light and darkness, at the end of history. In its mythological form this was expressed partly in terms of the opposition between the chief of God's angels (as we should call them) and the angel of darkness, sometimes (but certainly not universally) called Michael and Belial respectively. What I have called the classical passage, 1 QS 3.13-4.26, is composite and its earliest stratum expressed for the first time in sharp clarity this dualism associated with the final struggle. The theory is that a process of thought went on which demythologized this notion and reduced it to an ethical dualism capable of being separated entirely from any eschatological conceptions.

The Spirit of Truth is of course that persona who controls and inspires the proper actions of the sons of light, those who remain faithful to the covenant and obey the laws of God strictly interpreted according to Qumran convictions and methods of dealing with scrip-

ture. In my essay in the volume, *John and Qumran* (edited by James Charlesworth), I mention the occurrence of the Two Spirits in the *Testament of Judah* 20:1 ff. Whether this should be regarded as earlier (as I suspect) than the final form of the *Rule of Qumran* in which the "classical passage" appears I ought to leave to Professor de Jonge. Certainly in that passage the Spirit of Truth acts within a man indeed, and in an intensely *personal* way (I am tempted to say from my personal experience, like God!). In the present paper I will not go further into the matter of the Spirit of Truth who has I hope received sufficient introduction to make clear how he was conceived in the minds of the people of Qumran. It is enough perhaps at this stage to add that in the Gospel the Spirit of Truth comes forth from the Father (of course! as from God or Yahweh in the Old Testament), and (a new emphasis) teaches and leads into all truth, now identified with the particular form of understanding of the significance of Jesus, the particular form of what we would call Christianity developed and taught by the author and theologian we call John, and perhaps held by a small sect who were his disciples.

The Spirit of Truth is in the Gospel identified with another figure, about whom we cannot really say anything for certain except what we find written in the Gospel. In other words, in this case we are met with something of an unsolved puzzle if we try to muster evidence from previous literature which might give the clue to what the writer was taking over and adapting, assuming that he *was* adapting. This figure is of course the Paraclete, and I hope you will pardon my slow progress towards the subject. I have tried to clear the ground a little first so that his conception stands out more clearly and in perspective with the other related concepts of 'spirit' and 'spirit of truth.'

The first trouble is the word: in Greek it means one called to one's side, helper, intercessor, protector. Unlike "spirit," "truth," "light," "darkness," "life," this Greek word has no obvious equivalent in Hebrew. Part of my essay in Jim Charlesworth's book is given up to searching around for a Hebrew word which could be said to correspond to the Greek *παράκλητος*, which is transliterated and then slightly anglicized by "paraclete." I could not find one and argued, in effect, that those who thought they could were mistaken. But there is no doubt, as I hope will be clear in a minute, that if the *word* is not Hebrew, yet the *idea* is present in the Judaism of Palestine in

which it is now fashionable (and rightly so) to place the Fourth Gospel.

It was once part of critical orthodoxy to say that this Gospel was the work which at a relatively late stage in the development of the church presented Jesus to the Hellenistic world in the language which the educated man of that world could appreciate. This "language" was held to be that of a rather derivative philosophical kind, that of the Stoics rather than that of Plato, but nevertheless in the Greek philosophical tradition, perhaps indeed part of the language used by Philo of Alexandria, a contemporary of New Testament events. We shall see presently that there is much truth in this explanation, but it can no longer be stated quite in the same way.

Many of us, even before they read Hengel's *Judentum und Hellenismus*, were aware that Palestine was, in spite of the efforts of strict Jews, a land of mixed culture, of a Hellenistic Judaism and to an extent of a Judaized Hellenism. We knew also that there was a Judaism in Palestine which represented a great development from that of the days when the Old Testament canon appears gradually to have closed. But of course we know from the scrolls infinitely more about it now. Of all the writings in the New Testament it is the Fourth Gospel which is illumined most by this now better understood broad section of the spectrum of Judaism. The Jewish scholar who said that this Gospel was the most Jewish of them all has been amply justified.

Yet here in one part of it we find a Jewish conception represented by an exclusively Greek word. This fact in itself illustrates that there were circles where the cultures intermingled so successfully that a writer who wrote unmistakably as a Jew could speak of the *logos* instead of *sophia*, of the chief witness and advocate for the defence as a *παράκλητος*, and even of 'the Jews' as if they were a lot of people alien to the very Jesus who in his view must be accepted as their Messiah. Thus English-speaking people speak of *savoir faire* and of *aparatchiks*; and perhaps strangest of all, generations utterly ignorant of our Biblical heritage say that secular leaders have or have not *charisma*, probably totally ignorant of the fact even that it is a Greek word. The situation which this represents is that in which a very mixed, varied and "permissive" culture contained pockets of strict and particular sects, or rather fellowship groups, entertaining strong convictions and leading sternly moral lives. When they sought to

convert their neighbours to these convictions, they had to express them in more thought-languages than one. I say advisedly "their neighbours" because it seems unnecessary to suppose that this change took place only away from Palestine. The stranger (in cultural and religious terms) was, as now in so many parts of the world, very near at hand in everyday life.

A great deal of light has been thrown recently on both the origin and meaning of the term *paraclete* by Harald Riesenfeld in an article in *Ex Orbe Religionum*, a volume dedicated to the honour of the famous Swedish scholar Widengren. The article is "A Probable Background to the Johannine Paraclete." In it Riesenfeld refers to some famous passages where God is described as the "comforter" of Israel (Isa. 40.1; 49.13; 51.12 and 66.13 are good examples). The Hebrew verb used here (the participle is a well-known personal name, Menachem) is usually translated in the Greek version of the scriptures by the verb *parakalein* which is the background of *paraklētos* or *paraclete*. Riesenfeld moves on to consider Prov. 8.4ff. Here in the Hebrew original Wisdom cries to all men and calls upon them to follow good sense and the right way of life. Now in the Greek version Wisdom is made to say that she "comforts" or "exhorts" men and the verb used is *parakalein*. Read the following verses and you will see that what Wisdom does is strikingly parallel to what the Johannine Paraclete does in John 14-16: she comforts and teaches the good, and opposes and convicts the evil. This is a genuine discovery and illustrates the truths of the claim that the word has come into the Gospel from a Greek-speaking influence. But we have still to pay rather more attention to the idea of the Paraclete as this is found in the Gospel and in previous literature, admitting still that the actual word does not occur in any extant literature earlier than the Gospel itself.

To explain the *idea* of the Paraclete we cannot do better than refer to Otto Betz's book on the subject. Betz observes that in the Gospel the paraclete is a prophetic type of teacher who serves and completes the revelation taught by Jesus, and yet is also an advocate in a court; in John 16.8-11 he is not merely advocate for the defence but an accuser of the world brought to judgment before God. This dual role is slightly difficult to unify, and so is the fact that sometimes he is spoken of as if he were a person like Jesus himself but at others as a spirit, or holy spirit. In fact the basic understanding

demanding by the term is that the scene to which he belongs is a law-court after the model in the Mishnah tractate Sanhedrin (generally admitted to give an idealized account of a court in Israel). In such a court there is no counsel for the defence as we understand the office. Such a person is found in a different way in the chief witness for the defence. In the intertestamental literature we find that Moses and the patriarchs are cast in this role of advocate, and in the cosmic scene Michael is a heavenly advocate for Israel. It is an extension of this office to be a teacher, for one who teaches God's people the way of righteousness clearly helps them to be innocent in the court. The other side of the coin is to rebuke the unrighteous and especially those who tempt Israel into sin. Hence an advocate is a rebuker of the cosmic evil power or powers; and he also rebukes the righteous when they stray.

I do not think I can follow Betz completely when he goes on to say that it is typical of the 'paraclete' type of personality that he has a follower (Moses-Joshua, Elijah-Elisha). It is not hard to agree that when Jesus is shown to be the righteous one by his disappearance into heaven, the Paraclete is he who follows Jesus to continue his work on earth and is to be identified with a spirit. But to maintain that this personality is, before he sent to earth, the archangel Michael seems to me to assume that the Fourth Gospel has taken over a concept from Qumran without change, and one would expect the identification to be made explicitly, if this were so.

In my essay in *John and Qumran* I made some speculative suggestions about the identity of the Paraclete, and am far from sure about them. It is better in a paper like this to draw attention to some interesting facts which sometimes escape notice, though I may be ultimately tempted to my original conclusion! One such fact is that in John 12.31 we have an illustration of the court motif. The apparent defeat but actual victory of Jesus, a victory over the powers of darkness, is as it were stretched out over time, and not only over the future so that it is effective for his followers in all ages. It is extended also back from the time of the crucifixion into his earthly ministry. This is how, apparently very oddly, what really belongs to the agony in the garden takes place while he is teaching. In a situation where Jesus is talking to "Greeks" (probably called that in a way as idiosyncratic to the author as the Jews are called "Jews"!) a heavenly voice (like thunder—a concession to Greeks?) is taken to

imply that the "judgment of this world is now" and that "the ruler of this world will now be cast out."

I will not weary you with particular references to other passages where this judgment motif and, as it were, perpetual court scene are the media through which the author makes his points. The "Jews" are the antagonists of Jesus, but they are so because they are the children of the *diabolos* or slanderer, of him who traduces before God the people of God. Jesus is himself his people's Paraclete and like a good defender attacks the adversary. If we look again now at the list of special passages we may notice that the one which begins at John 16.7, and which is so hard to understand in some of its details, yet makes clear that it is concerned with the vindication of the truth (i.e. the new doctrine) and with the conviction of the unbelieving. Whether "conviction" should be thought of as the conviction we feel when we are convinced, or as the fate of a man found guilty seems to be designedly made a puzzle here. At least this passage makes clear in spite of its obscurities that a court scene is the source of the metaphor employed. I will return to this passage, both to make a point about the relation of Father, Jesus and the Paraclete, and also to link the passage with the interesting I John 2.1. But first I will try to look at the other passages in our list in ways some of which may be new at least to some people here.

14.16: We can hardly miss the fact that Jesus is to ask the Father for a Paraclete to replace himself. This seems to use the old mythical notion of the Messiah who ascends into heaven there to find the good things which he may bestow on his followers; these good things are in the Christian interpretation usually limited to the Holy Spirit, or rather comprehended in him. The point I would wish to make here is that the second Paraclete is to be with the disciples "for ever," and that therefore we have a working alternative to the otherwise sometimes naively expressed eschatology elsewhere in the Gospel. Further, the identification with the Spirit of Truth is explicit, deliberate and unmistakable. This seems to me to provide a very useful alternative to crude eschatology; this is the idea that the disciple of Jesus has for always a heaven-sent gift in the form of the Spirit of Truth within him (or is it that the disciples as a group have him within them?) If the word "truth" is correctly understood, this is a good point to lay hold of from the practical religious point of view. It does not strain the meaning to insist that "truth" is not simply a

set of propositions (though it does include correct belief in a person) but a manner of life founded on a relation with God and Jesus. There is an indissoluble connexion between truth as knowledge and truth as conduct in all this literature, that is, the literature of late Judaism and early Christianity.

14.26 sets me on my hobby horse. Here it seems that the Paraclete is identified *tout court* with the Holy Spirit just as I argued at the outset that he was not. In my view this isolated example must be a wrong reading. Only the Sinaitic Syriac version supports me among the texts or versions, but I remain obstinate. I believe that the passage in its present form is due to some early scribe who (influenced by plenty of other passages in the New Testament) did not realize at all that he was dealing here with a writing composed from a different point of view. And I think that the author originally wrote: “. . . the Paraclete, the spirit whom the Father will send in my name. . . .” It must be admitted that the rest of the verse describes what this spirit will do in terms which leave no doubt that the author is thinking of the Spirit of Truth, if we may judge from the other passages in which he is speaking of this concept. There is a further point I would like to make (an uncontroversial point this time!): it concerns Jesus’ earthly teaching. The tradition within the church (or particular Johannine group?) is here given a somewhat *carte blanche* guarantee; the Spirit, it is claimed, will “remind you of all the things which I said to you.” Another point in connexion with this passage is one already made in connexion with 14.16, but here it is less obvious. It is part of a longer passage which certainly provides an alternative to eschatology; what is now envisaged is that the manifestation of Jesus to the world—in some quarters thought of as a literal manifestation to physical sight (on the clouds of heaven and all that)—will be “making our dwelling with” any faithful disciple on the part of Jesus and the Father. If we put the last passage alongside this, it seems that indwelling by the Father and Jesus is tantamount to indwelling by the Spirit of Truth, and that this is what the coming of “the other Paraclete” means.

15.26-27: This passage adds to my themes that the Paraclete/Spirit of Truth will witness to the earthly Jesus. Since this is said in the midst of a long passage which warns the disciples about the hatred of the world for them and for him and about the persecution which they will suffer, one may regard this as the Johannine equiv-

alent to the statement in Mark 13.11 which seems to reflect the church's experience; according to this it is the Holy Spirit who assists the persecuted in their time of trial. This makes one ponder on the possible propriety of seeing the Holy Spirit in Mark and indeed the other Synoptic Gospels as a less developed personal entity and more as a spirit sent from God than we are accustomed to think.

I return, as I suggested, to the difficult passage, 16.7 ff., but still avoiding the complicated difficulties there, and not attempting to unravel them in this paper. Suffice it to say three things about the passage: that Jesus' return to the Father is couched in the language of the prologue to the Gospel where "to God" is usually translated as "with God," though the subject there is the Logos; further, the close bonds between Jesus, Father and Paraclete are again clearly expressed; and finally (for our present purposes) the passage runs on to suggest (verse 27) what was taught in 14.21, that the coming of the other Paraclete means enjoying the love of the Father, i.e. fellowship with him.

What I want, then, strongly to urge is that there is a continuum consisting of Father, Jesus, Paraclete and body of disciples. Any or all of these spiritual persons can be thought of as dwelling within the disciples; if we try to separate out their functions we can do so quite successfully, but *need not do so*. Let us apply this separation possibility a little: why, if there is such overlap between these "persons"—these spiritual beings—is it necessary to distinguish them? It is because there is a remarkable and indispensable fact within the whole matter: this spiritual reality (God) has appeared on earth, of course as Jesus. What the author is saying through his mouth here is that his being no longer on earth makes no difference: it makes no difference because there is a witness to him among disciples now exactly equivalent to his actual presence, that is the Paraclete. Not only that, but what is perhaps less obvious, the function once discharged by the Paraclete, the advocate on behalf of God's people in the cosmic court, is now discharged by Jesus. In 16.10 he says "I go to the Father and you no longer see me" and this is taken up in I John 2.1 when the author draws out the consequence of this by saying that if anyone sins, we have a Paraclete with the Father (not only on earth!) who is the expiation of our sins. Jesus crucified *is* our intercessor in the heavenly court and he *is* the indweller in faithful disciples. You could easily say that again with the Paraclete as

subject instead of Jesus. Again, the Father is one to whom Jesus goes (14.28; 16.10) yet the Father takes up his dwelling with the disciple who loves him.

I have used the not very elegant word, "continuum." It is not easy to use a right metaphor about spiritual realities. Perhaps it is more important to admit and to understand that they are metaphors and not necessarily very good ones. Even those which once were good have ceased to be clear to twentieth-century man. I do not wish to say that the idea of Trinity is a metaphor. I do not wish to join battle with those theologians who are able to instruct us in the right way of talking about the Trinity; still less do I wish to suggest that such debate is not a proper occupation for those who understand the theological and philosophical principles involved. I do not wish even to say that I ought not to listen to them carefully, or that I or anyone else cannot learn much from them. This is perhaps because I do not see how, if you are speaking concisely, you can avoid saying that as a Christian you do believe in God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

But what Jim Charlesworth and his bunch are doing is to see how these ideas arose and how they carried meanings which originally expressed realities in a way quite different from any we could understand without some study of these origins. I will finish by recalling something said by Professor de Jonge in Holland in 1971 (I expect I misquote but trust I give faithfully the substance): such contributions to the service of the gospel as these (I do not say this of mine!) are useful, necessary and important—but modest.

“Remember Who You Are!”

by CREIGHTON LACY¹

A half hour before Dean Langford asked me to crawl out on this limb, I was reading the devotional booklet, *Daily Blessing*. Those of you who know me will be surprised, since Oral Roberts and Seed-Faith Living are not exactly my bag. But the reading for that day had set loose a long-buried memory and a torrent of contemplations that not even an assignment from the dean could turn off. According to the writer, “when Roland Hayes, the famous black tenor, was performing in Great Britain in 1921, he cabled his mother in Georgia to tell her he was to give a command performance for the royal family. She cabled back: ‘Just remember who you are!’”

The memory flashed first. Most of you have never heard of Roland Hayes, though he was one of the great black artists of his time, world-renowned long before Paul Robeson and Marian Anderson, Mahalia Jackson and Nat King Cole. During my first summer pastorate, Roland Hayes (then in his sixties) toured the remote valleys of northern Vermont to share his magnificent voice and his gentle spirit with isolated farm people who in those days had seldom heard great music alive, had never glimpsed the cultural treasures of television, and had hardly seen a Negro. I shall never forget how that little white church in the woods of Eden, Vermont, reverberated to the songs of Roland Hayes: “Let My People Go!” and “Jesus Walked This Lonesome Valley.”

As I read further, reminiscences gave way to speculations. A black minister, commenting on the advice to Roland Hayes from his mother, called it “this self-effacing attitude . . . typical of my race.” He must never have known Roland Hayes. To be sure, the cablegram can be read two ways. It can be read as a message of pride, the pride of a mother whose son—and whose entire race—was being honored. “Just remember who you are!” It can be read as a reminder of humility, but *not* the humility of apology, self-deprecation,

1. Address delivered at the Opening Convocation of the Divinity School on September 7, 1972.

inferiority so often deplored today. The modesty of Roland Hayes came from quiet awareness that his superb voice was God-given, and that its every use—before the royal family of England or the gruff farmers of Vermont—should be to glorify that God.

Thus I was meditating when Dean Langford's call came through. Almost immediately—though not without subsequent doubts and apprehensions—I knew that my message to you today had to be that simple sentence: "Remember who you are!" I do not intend to ride any popular psychological fads in search of your identity or mine. *I'm OK—You're OK* has somewhat belatedly leaped to the top of the non-fiction best-seller lists, but some of my dearest friends have had their personal and family lives all fouled up instead of straightened out by transactional analysis. What I am suggesting is that we must look much farther and deeper than sensitivity groups or parlor games to discover who we are. Yet I would maintain also that that quest—in its broadest and fullest sense—is a major reason for our gathering in this community. Since first writing these words, I have read a book review which begins: "The clergy in America is involved in an agonizing and profound identity crisis."

For some years now it has been remarked that many students arrive at seminary without a confident commitment to the church, to traditional forms of ministry, or even to the Christian faith. In all but the most hidebound theological schools (and Webster defines hidebound as "obstinately narrow or stupidly conservative") committees are wrestling with the implications of this fact for curricula, for church relations, for individual growth, and for the very future of Christianity. I do not propose to offer solutions to these very real practical problems, but only to set them tentatively within the context of theological education, of our purpose, our *raison d'être*.

Long before the Psalmist whom we read this morning, men and women have been puzzling about the nature and meaning of human existence, so sorry and so sublime. Every culture has pondered the naked ape, his potential and her perverseness—or vice versa. The writer of Ecclesiastes observed that "God, when he made man, made him straightforward, but man invents endless subtleties of his own." (Eccl. 7:29) Each day's news commentary, especially in election year, reveals afresh the frustrating, exasperating paradox, and this week's tragedy in the midst of heroic achievements at Munich adds horror to the futility: "What is mortal man that thou shouldst care for

him?" Insignificant, yet increasingly master of all creation; selfish, idolatrous rebel, yet crowned with glory and honor.

If the primary question is not new, neither is the secondary one; namely, does the Christian church, the Christian tradition, the Christian faith, the Christian Gospel—whatever term you prefer to use—shed any unique illuminating rays on that eternal dilemma? What *is* new is to find *that* scepticism at the very center of the Christian community, at the core of the seminary curriculum, in the heart of the Christian minister, not only within the *corpus Christianum* but even within the *corpus Christi*.

Our presence here is an affirmation—or ought to be—of a belief—or at least a hope: the belief that somewhere in the Good News of Jesus Christ, somewhere in the Christ Event, somewhere in our corporate as well as private experience of Christian redemption, lies a clue to the so-called identity problem. I do not intend to draw invidious lines between seminaries and graduate schools—particularly this semester when I attempt to wear both hats. The dichotomy seems to me a false one. Theology is to do, to sing, to practice, to embrace, to love, not simply to study or to learn. If indeed it does deal with Ultimate Concern, theological education can never be compressed into the classroom or the textbook.

But if there is any valid distinction between professional and academic training, it lies in the nature of commitment. I do not mean, as some debates would suggest, vocational commitment to a particular type of job, or institutional commitment to traditional structures. On the contrary, I believe that seminaries ought to be about the business of imagining, anticipating, creating new forms of ministry for at least the next twenty-five years, and preparing their students to continue that process.

But let me say a word here about our heritage in the past. A wave of a-historicism, even anti-historicism, in today's counter-culture sometimes threatens to undermine instead of facilitate genuine progress. One of the greatest stumbling blocks in the generation gap, where it exists, is an apparent scorn for experience, whether of an individual or the human race. Roland Hayes' mother was unconsciously wise in beginning her cablegram: "Remember . . ." Who we are depends far more than we realize, not just on our genes or prenatal influences, but on all the cultural, social, psychological, spiritual inheritance of the past. In last year's annual report of Har-

vard Divinity School, currently required reading for the faculty here, Krister Stendahl comments that "religion lives by tradition" and that probably 75 per cent of the Harvard curriculum consists of history.

That is why the core of our Duke Divinity curriculum seeks to help students remember who you are in your Biblical, historical, and theological heritage—however loudly a few may clamor to get on with the business of ministering to "the real world." But just as no plant grows without roots, so the beauty, usefulness, *and* reproduction of the plant depend on its blossoms and its fruit. We "remember" not to discover who we *were* or who our forefathers were, but to understand who we *are*, *Whose* we are, and who we may become.

Having spent half of my time on prolegomena, I want merely to suggest three facets of the Christian approach to our "identity crisis." More directly, more imperatively than in any other faith, the Christian needs to remember who he is as servant, as prophet, as disciple.

The Scriptural injunctions are all too familiar. "If anyone wants to be first, he must make himself last of all and servant of all." (Mark 9:35) "Now therefore go, and I will be with thy mouth and teach thee what thou shalt speak . . . and what ye shall do." (Ex. 4:12) "He that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully." (Jer. 23:28) "This is my Father's glory, that you may bear fruit in plenty, and so be my disciples." (John 15:8) "Go forth therefore and make all nations my disciples; . . . teach them to observe all that I have commanded you. And be assured, I am with you always to the end of time." (Mt. 28:19-20) The instructions are clear and simple, but they have implications for our professional and personal image which are often overlooked.

Some of you will feel that my sequence—servant, prophet, disciple—does violence to both Biblical and theological order. Despite the Suffering Servant motif in the Old Testament, many people think of servanthood as a New Testament theme, introduced as well as personified by Jesus Christ. But it is an "in" term these days, far beyond the ranks of social activists. Most conservative evangelicals now acknowledge that piety and pietism without political responsibility represent a half-Gospel, that love of neighbor involves institutions and power structures as well as Thanksgiving baskets. Nobody has to apologize for requesting an assignment in the Edgemont ghetto or on Capitol Hill.

On the other hand, there are grave limitations raised against the

servant principle from many quarters. Church agencies are sharply condemned these days—I believe quite unjustly—for allegedly replacing evangelistic zeal with “humanitarian service”—as if “humanitarian” is a dirty, un-Christian word. It is my contention that the “Christian-ness” of a particular mission—or of any ethical choice for that matter—lies not in the activity itself but in the motivation, the commitment to which I earlier referred.

There is another problem about servanthood, one that strikes at the heart of political democracy, the nature of community, the responsibility of a theological seminary, and the integrity of the individual. Most of us believe in participatory democracy, in grass-roots representation, in sensitivity to the feelings of laity in the local church. But we are equally aware that neither might nor numbers makes right, that neither a silent majority nor a vocal coalition guarantees infallibility, that *vox populi* is *not* necessarily *vox Dei*. You did not, I trust, come to this school simply to learn how to do what the Council on Ministries or the District Superintendent tells you to do. And if, in your search for identity, you have already uncovered a puppet, some of us will do all in our power to make you a very rebellious Pinocchio who ultimately finds a life of his very own.

That brings us, by a circuitous or short-circuited route, to the second self a Christian ought to develop. I chose the word “prophet” instead of “leader” partly to *sound* Biblical, partly to avoid *being* Biblical. For a sketchy survey reveals three things about “leadership” in the Scriptures. First, it applies most often to God Himself—and that will be the focus of our final point. Second, more than half the references to human leading (in one concordance) were “astray,” with “seduce” or “deceive” as synonyms. Third, the longest quotation cited was Jacob’s word to Esau: “I will lead on gently, according to the pace of the cattle that are before me, and according to the pace of the children, until I come unto my lord.” (Gen. 33:14) That is *not* the kind of leadership I am talking about.

A radio appeal for the Peace Corps last week said simply: “You go because you have something to say or do or give—and if you are lucky you will also find much to receive.” In one way or another every Christian—especially every Christian minister—should *demonstrate* the conviction that he has not only received the Good News himself, but is eager to share it with others. This is not arrogance or dogmatism, any more than service is self-abasement. One can and

should debate—as two earnest students did in my office last spring—just how far they should go *from the pulpit* in proclaiming the Vietnam war immoral and un-Christian.

But I am perplexed and distressed by other students whose tolerance and humility and sense of finite ignorance lead them to insist that they can make *no* prophetic or pastoral affirmations except as individual human opinion. If you leave this school either unable or unwilling to declare, "Thus saith the Lord!" about *anything*, then we of the faculty have failed you badly. Even more serious, *you* will have failed to recognize either yourself or the Lord who would speak *through* you. Amos still thunders: "The Lord God has spoken; who will not prophesy?" (3:8)

Obviously (I hope!), in talking about prophecy and leadership in the context of knowing who you are, I am not limiting myself to the pulpit or the spoken word. With due respect to linguistic analysts in our midst, as an ethicist I find far more meaningful *creating* of selfhood as well as *revealing* of selfhood in what a person *does* than in what he *says*. This is not a plea for particular kinds of involvement, but simply a reminder that a pastor is more than a flunkey. He may, like some shepherds and all sheep dogs, guide his flock more effectively by barking at them from the right or left than by strolling serenely ahead, with his back turned. But he should never be the oft-caricatured figure who is running after a mob shouting, "I must catch up with that crowd for I am their leader."

In an abbreviated closing word I contend that the Christian can reconcile the competing styles of servant and prophet only by committing himself as a disciple. It is well-known—at least in this setting—that a disciple is originally and primarily a pupil, "one who receives instruction." (I was somewhat dismayed to observe parenthetically that in one concordance the longest section of references to Jesus' disciples came under the heading, "their slowness of apprehension." We hope for better things at Duke.)

The dictionary derivations of "discipline" from the role of "disciple" are numerous enough to constitute an entire address: instruction; a branch of knowledge involving research; training which corrects, molds, strengthens, or perfects; punishment; control gained by obedience or order. You all can fill in the rest of that speech. But in the search for identity, the servant and the prophet will find stability, assurance, and purpose only if they—or he—is also a disciple.

Here I return to the assertion that the Christian faith does have an answer, a plumbline, lacking elsewhere. Discipline for the Muslim means submission, a kind of fatalism. Discipline for the Buddhist means an autonomous, detached, therefore ultimately irresponsible individualism. The Hindu has little or no religious discipline, but his social discipline requires conformity to his own self-imposed past as well as to society. For the Christian, discipline arises out of discipleship to Jesus Christ, to a person who is more than a teacher, more than a model, more than a ruler. Of Christ, John wrote in the passage read today: "He knew men so well, all of them, that he needed no evidence from others about a man, for he himself could tell what was in a man." (John 2:25)

For those of us who are called to make all nations his disciples, that means additional study beyond the general college curriculum. It means learning who Jesus Christ was and is, in the language and setting of the Bible, in the experience of countless others who have tried to live as his disciples. Even more important, it means learning who Christ is in relation to *your* life, your commitment, your spiritual development—however that may be interpreted. (And here I commend to every one of you the spring issue of *Theological Education*, which *ought* to be required reading for us all.) Discipleship also means learning who *you* are, as a member of a changing but imperishable community, as the unique individual handiwork of an unchanging Creator. Then it means learning how He wants you to use the talents and the commitment He has given you in the midst of the incredible, heart-breaking, exciting world that He has made.

To that task, simple yet agonizingly complex, we rededicate this school and the academic year ahead. All over Tanzania one reads the aphorism of a wise Christian statesman, Julius Nyerere: "The further education of the select few must be for the service of the many." We believe, in a theological seminary as distinct from an academic department, that you can faithfully and effectively serve your neighbor and society only if you are first of all the servant of Christ.

On the campus of my alma mater a bronze plaque marks the spot where, in 1914, President Woodrow Wilson delivered the college's semicentennial address. These words have greeted every generation of students since then: "Do not forget, as you walk these classic places, you are here to enrich the world, and you impoverish yourself if you forget the errand." We in a professional school of divinity believe that

you will truly and lastingly enrich the world with your prophetic words and actions, with your leadership and service, only if the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—the God of Jesus Christ—teaches you what you shall speak and what you shall do.

Then, and only then, in moments of triumph (like Roland Hayes before the king) or in moments of tragedy, will you be able to remember who you are, and to know through exalted experience that Christ himself is “with you always, to the end of time.”

I want to close with a portion of this year’s Commencement Prayer at Yale. Bill Coffin’s petitions for the graduating class are just as valid for all of *us* who inaugurate today a new year of common effort and commitment. Let us pray:

. . . Confirm them in their determination to summon every bit of their humanity in the face of every effort to deny it. May they not skirt the uncomfortable, nor rationalize the unacceptable. May they become more than they are. May they become more than they think they can ever become—makers and bearers of a new tradition of justice and compassion, that their children may know the presence of something different in America; something as full of joy and hope as childhood itself. O God, may we all join with them, here and the world around, to make life beautiful with sanity, real with love. Amen.

LLOYD R. BAILEY

Associate Professor of Old Testament

A funny thing happened to me on my way to becoming an astronomer. While a student at Mars Hill Jr. College (in engineering), Duke Divinity School alumnus James T. Hall, my pastor, suggested that I transfer to Duke rather than to U.T. for the remainder of the necessary undergraduate degree in physics. His "hidden agenda" was fairly obvious to me, even at the time, namely, that the Divinity School might influence my career orientation. So, sandwiched between thermodynamics and nuclear physics, was a course in Bible with Robert Osborn, which started me on my way to the faculty position which I now hold. Of course, an excellent scholarship for the three years of the B.D. degree, from the Edward John Noble Foundation, made it easier to decline employment in the Navy's missile program and as assistantship in astronomy at U. Wis!

In order to prepare for teaching theological students, a bit of pastoral experience seemed in order, so I asked Jean Hemphill (B.S. in Interior Design; W.C., U.N.C., 1961) to join me in the parsonage in Webster City, Iowa. The relationship with her and with the parishioners proved entirely satisfactory, although I severed the latter after 15 months in order to begin graduate studies at Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion (Cincinnati, Ohio) in 1962. The Jewish community generously awarded me the Interfaith Fellowship for four years, and a year of study at HUC's Jerusalem branch was made possible by a National Defense Foreign Language Fellowship in Arabic. From these years (1962-67) I received a deep and abiding appreciation for Judaism and the Old Testament which otherwise would have been impossible. Jean, in the meanwhile, had switched to computer programming in order to support us more adequately.

Teaching experience, prior to coming to Duke in 1971, consisted of four years at Union Theological Seminary (New York). Since NYC is not a healthy environment for children (or other living things, for that matter), it became necessary to seek a position elsewhere after Lloyd Jr. was born (1969). And as Providence would have it,

an opportunity developed at the one institution to which I really desired to move. So, here I am, back among old friends. A second son, Ethan Anselm (a happy union of the OT and Scholasticism?), appreciative of the more pleasant clime, joined us soon thereafter (1972).

My major goal is to train theological students more adequately to exegete the Scriptures, either from the Hebrew or the English text; to enable them not only to hear the ancient, radical challenge to all human values of that time, but also to ponder the extent and means by which that message can inform and challenge the contemporary churchman.

RICHARD E. GILLESPIE

Instructor in Historical Theology

We have lived as a family in Durham for slightly more than a year now, and are feeling very much at home. The Divinity School faculty and students have given us a warm welcome, and we are grateful for these new friendships. Important contacts with Durhamites outside the school have also been established, such as with those who handle the complaint desks at the telephone and utilities companies, and with some public school officials.

Even if these contacts may not properly be termed friendships, they are and have been important to us. When we first went to live in a small farming town near Munich about four years ago, it was such people as the registrar of the University and the chief of the *Kraftfahrzeugzulassungsstelle* (automobile registration office) from whom I received my first and most difficult examination in the German language. That anything was accomplished at all in these initial contacts with German officialdom probably testifies more to their refusal to permit a hardly comprehending foreigner to foul up the system than to anything which we contributed.

We enjoyed our three years in Germany. I had received a grant in 1968 to pursue research for my dissertation at the Grabmann Institute of the University of Munich in the field of medieval theology. And there I began to learn how to work with medieval Latin manuscripts. Our three girls Melinda, Jody, and Rebecca, attended the public schools, and very quickly had mastered two languages, the Bavarian dialect as well as German, while Carolyn and I were quite content with learning only the German. Vacations, which in Bavaria

still follow the church year, were filled with hours spent in the many Munich art galleries and museums, and two brief trips to Italy and Yugoslavia where we spent a few days each in the lovely cities of Ravenna and Dubrovnik.

After two years, my grant came to an end and, having neither funds to return home nor the faintest possibility of employment, I sought and found work with the Munich office of North American Van Lines. Along with my responsibilities for administering their European sales program, I managed to continue working—but slowly—on my research. Those days were filled with writing advertising copy, calculating sales quotas and programs to increase them, visiting agents, and listening to the occasional irate customer, such as the lady in Paris whose furniture had been “moved” into her apartment through hallways which were about a quarter of an inch narrower than her furniture.

I suppose that the furniture moving business came almost naturally to me. During my summers as a B.D. student at San Francisco Theological Seminary, and also as a student at the Graduate Theological Union, I earned a living by packing and unpacking dishes, books, lampshades, and toys. During the school year, I spent my time moving from one class to another; the member schools of the Union are scattered around Berkeley and the Bay Area, and one must become a commuter student in earnest. The major intellectual influence on my life during those years was Martin A. Schmidt, now teaching at Basel, who first led me to consider the theological contribution of the later scholastics. The need for practical experience was met by a grant which permitted me to spend a year in a clinical training program which included part-time work in a prison, hospital, and psychiatric ward; I also spent a year as a minister to youth in a local church, and a year as an intern campus minister at the University of Colorado—where I was able to indulge myself in my favorite sport of skiing.

Carolyn and I both studied as undergraduates at Whitworth College in Spokane, Washington, she majoring in sociology and I in philosophy, and it was there that we met and decided to marry.

Prior to Whitworth, I spent the better part of two years serving in the army in Fairbanks, Alaska, trying to invent ways to keep warm during the 50-60 degrees below zero winters and means to combat the hords of bird-sized mosquitos which emerged, geared, for fight and

hungry for flesh, from the surrounding marsh lands during the summer.

My childhood days were spent in Sacramento, and my school days were marked by a singular indifference to academic matters, in spite of the best efforts of many good teachers who now, I hope, may have some satisfaction that all was not wasted.

Book Reviews

Technology, Human Values and Leisure. Edited by Max Kaplan and Phillip Bosserman. Abingdon. 1971. 255 pp. \$6.50 Cloth. \$3.50 paper.

There is a plethora these days of symposium volumes. They are becoming a drug on the market. This particular one is not much better or worse than most. It addresses itself to a triadic problem of urgent moment. If there be any central theme that makes it a single book, it is that technology in this post-industrial age has created mass leisure and a profound revolution in value-systems and life styles about work and play, but that man has sparse resources of spirit to give a positive Greek meaning to leisure and to redeem it from the vacancy of its meaning as "time off."

Addressing this theme, the editors at the Center for Studies of Leisure at the University of South Florida have corralled essays from a dozen scholars, philosophers and sociologists mostly, one or two artists (like Dorothy Maynor). They are of uneven quality: some are cryptic or breezy speeches, others a dreary parade of sociological data. There is the usual loose clutch between quantitative and qualitative gears of thinking and between the descriptive and the normative. To this reader's theological-ethical bias, the most perceptive pieces were by Charles Obermeyer and by Emmanuel Mesthene of Harvard. The latter has, unlike most of the other contributors, a real sense for the religious dimension of the problem of recovering humanity and authentic leisure. The pursuit of truth and beauty for their own sake would be, as I see it, an accurate secular translation of the biblical phrase "the praise of the Lord." The reverent

enjoyment of creation and the cultivation of *homo ludens* are responses to life just as real as the Calvinistic work-ethic for the contemporary Christian to pursue.

For a sobering and forceful statement of the overwhelming proportions of the agenda of coping with the leisure that technology has dumped on us, this book is a useful statement for a pastor or layman to read. For any positive clues to spiritual insights with which to come about and make head-way into the problem, there is precious little help here. But perhaps it is better for churchmen to diagnose a problem carefully than offer a cheap and instant remedy.

—Waldo Beach

The Judgment of Jonah. Jacques Ellul. Eerdmans. 1971. 103 pp. \$1.95.

Jacques Ellul, French lawyer and sociologist, and during the last decade a prolific writer on such topics as the theological foundations of law, technology, prayer, and violence, has recently been compared favorably with Karl Barth and predicted as "the Protestant theologian of note in the decade of the '70s" (see William Stringfellow, "Meet Jacques Ellul," in *The Christian Advocate*, June 24, 1971). It is with great anticipation, therefore, that one greets his initial treatment of a biblical book. But for this reviewer at least, the anticipation quickly turned to disappointment.

Ellul begins by pondering Jonah's nonconformity to the norms of the prophetic corpus: the biographical genre, its unrelatedness to a specific historical situation, its orientation toward foreigners rather than Israel, and its lack of grounding in covenant theology. Since, therefore, Israel had

no obvious reason to recognize the book as prophecy, they can only have done so "for mysterious reasons which they did not fully grasp themselves" (pp. 14f.). As prophecy, it must denote something in the future which is to be fulfilled (pp. 17f.), and that can only be Jesus Christ (p. 10). Thus, guided by the "Holy Spirit" (p. 17), they unknowingly canonized it "in expectation of this unforeseeable consecration by Jesus Christ" (p. 61).

If one rejects this interpretation, he says, the book is reduced to "absurd banality" and to place it in the canon was "a serious act of folly" (p. 17). It then becomes a mere document of "the irreconcilable opposition between man and God" (p. 16).

Although Ellul correctly realizes that the chief aim of the book is not to give historical information, he seems willing to accept it literally. He terms the account of the fish as "quite acceptable . . . It is obvious that God's power can manifest itself thus" (p. 45). In addition to seeing nothing "obvious" about it, one may wonder how a theoretical statement of what God *can* do somehow establishes in fact that He has done it!

Ellul's whole discussion of the uniqueness of Jonah among the prophetic books is open to question. Is not 2 Kings 14:25, which calls Jonah a "prophet," sufficient grounds for the book having been included in that corpus? As a possible polemic against exclusivism in the post-exilic age, is it not chronologically grounded and addressed to Israel? Is an address to Israel concerning its obligations to the nations an unworthy motivation for inclusion in the canon? Were not all of the biblical books preserved precisely because they spoke to the community during contemporary crisis, helping it define its identity? And can the meaning of the book be determined apart from the ancient credo in Exod. 34:6 which it quotes (4:2)? Does this not suggest that Jonah is an attempt to draw out the implications

of that ancient credo for contemporary foreign relations? Did ancient Israel view prophecy primarily as prognostication, particularly of the remote future, as Ellul seems to presuppose? Is the biographical genre really as unique as he suggests? One might point to the parallels with the Elijah-Elisha material, which Israel also placed in the prophetic corpus (a point of which Ellul may be unaware, since that material falls outside the prophets in the Christian redivision of the canonical materials).

Granted that the interpretations which the first generation of Christians gave to the OT are important for our self-understanding, does that mean that the interpretations of earlier generations are "no longer of interest to us" (p. 45)? Apart from a christological interpretation, has Gen. 3 no worthwhile insights about human nature? Or Gen. 12 about the need for an obedient community? Or Exod. 3 about oppression and freedom? Or most of the prophetic literature about the idolatry of ultimate loyalty to the state ("law and order")? Ad infinitum. Is the exegesis of the Rabbis intrinsically less insightful than that of the early Christians, and if so, by what criteria is that established? Was the second generation of Christians any less insightful than the first (particularly when history vindicated the second)? Then on what basis does one say that the interpretation of one generation is decisive for all future generations?

When Ellul says that Israel's inclusion of this book whose true reality is Jesus Christ is a "witness precisely against themselves" (p. 15), is he not unwittingly fueling the lack of understanding, condescension, and bigotry which have characterized Christianity for two millennia?

His treatment of the literary problems of the book and in particular of the relationship of the poetic section (2:2-9) to the prose is problematic. He rejects the position that a

commentator (or the original narrator) utilized a well known psalm of thanksgiving (which thus contains non-harmonious language and content), and suggests that the poem is "authentic" (p. 48). He supports his position by alluding to "modern researches . . . (in) the development of Hebrew" (p. 47), which, I am amused to say, are unknown to me. He continues with an explanation for the contextually incongruous perfect "tenses" of the poem that is little short of incredible: they are concerned with the "works of death, Satan, and the abyss," which are always described in this "tense" (p. 52).

The Translator's Preface (p. 5) describes this work as an "existential commentary," by which he means that it seeks to depict the agony of every man in the agony of Jonah. This consists of pointing to our life "above the abyss . . . (which) plunges us daily into temptation" (p. 51), an inevitable fate because of the "fall" (p. 53). But the power of the abyss is broken by God's act in Jesus (p. 53). Unfortunately, however, such a meaning has no support either in the intent of Jonah's author or in the NT interpretations. It is Ellul's own imagination, which he seeks to pass off as the hidden divine intent of the text.

In sum, the work is illogical, theologically trite, and critically uninformed. Those who have not yet paid \$1.95 for it may consider themselves fortunate.

—Lloyd R. Bailey

Gnosticism in Corinth: An Investigation of the Letters to The Corinthians. Walter Schmithals. Translated by John E. Steely. Abingdon. 1971. 412 pp. \$12.95.

Professor John Steely of South-eastern Baptist Seminary has put us in his debt by his willingness to undertake the exacting and relatively thankless job of scholarly translation. He

has previously translated Schmithals' book on *The Office of Apostle in the Early Church* and the very important work of Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*. Now Abingdon has published his translation of Schmithals' first, and possibly his most important book, *Die Gnosis in Korinth*.

Schmithals' work was originally a doctoral dissertation, written for Rudolf Bultmann of Marburg University and accepted by that theological faculty in 1954. It was first published in German in 1956. Schmithals has since reissued the book twice. The second and third German editions differ from the first in two important respects: first, the original excursus on the Gnostic system has been expanded and moved to the beginning of the work as a part of the introduction; second, copious notes in which Schmithals reports on further relevant research and answers his critics have been added at the end. The extent of these notes seems to have nearly doubled from the second edition to the third. (Presumably this is a translation of the third German edition—a "Foreword to the Third Edition" is included—although in his very brief preface Steely does not tell us this explicitly.)

Although the book is rather complex and detailed, Schmithals' thesis can be stated rather simply. On the basis of a literary analysis of the Corinthian letters (pp. 87-101) he thinks it possible to reconstruct the history of Paul's dealings with the Corinthians and thus to form the basis for deciding about the number, source, and theology of Paul's opponents (pp. 113-16, 117f.).

Literary analysis reveals the existence of no less than six letters in what we know as I and II Corinthians: A, the "previous letter" (= II 6:14-7:1; 1 6:12-20; 1 9:24-10:22; 11:2-34; 15; 16:13-24); B, Paul's response to the Corinthians' letter (= I 1:1-6:11; 7:1-9:23; 10:23-11:1; 12:1-14:40; 16:1-12); C, a mildly troubled letter

(= II 2:14-6:13; 7:2-4); D, the angry letter (= II 10:1-13:13); E, the letter of recommendation (II 9); and F, the joyful letter (II 1:1-2:13; 7:5-8:24). The entire correspondence took less than a year.

Schmithals argues vigorously that Paul fought on only one front in Corinth (and, indeed, in all his churches), thus against only one sort of opponent. His opponents are clearly identified in II Corinthians 11:22 as Jewish. Yet they were not Pharisaic Jews, but Jewish Gnostics. The initial clue to their Gnostic character is provided by I Corinthians 12:3, where we are apparently informed of Christians who cursed Jesus, even as Gnostics described by Origen cursed Jesus. This cursing of Jesus reflected a docetic rejection of the historic, earthly Jesus in favor of the heavenly Christ. Naturally, the Gnostic hypothesis is grounded also in Schmithals' understanding of the nature of Gnosticism generally (pp. 25-85) and in the possibility of correlating it with the data of the Corinthian letters. By inference from Paul's polemical statements it is possible to reconstruct more precisely the nature of the Gnostic theology in Corinth. Schmithals devotes particular attention to the Corinthian anthropology (pp. 155-218), on the basis of which he thinks it possible to explain most of the problems which arose between Paul and his rebellious offspring. Concluding chapters deal with the Gnostic versus the Pauline understanding of freedom, the sacraments, eschatology and the functions of the community, especially prophets and apostles.

Schmithals' proposal has been a focal point of scholarly discussion over the past decade and a half. Curiously, however, his book was at first not widely reviewed. (But see D. Georgi in *Verkündigung und Forschung*, Bericht 1958-59, 1960, pp. 90ff. [non vid.]; R. M. Wilson in *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 15 [1962], 324-27; and, earlier, R. P. Casey in

Journal of Theological Studies, 8 [1957], 152f.) His basic thesis has been accepted by many Continental scholars; for example, W. G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (ET, 1966), p. 202, and W. Marxsen, *Introduction to the New Testament* (ET, 1968), p. 75. Moreover, C. K. Barrett has agreed that it is appropriate to refer to Gnostics in Corinth, as many reservations as he may have concerning their history and background (*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 46 [1963-64], 269-97).

Nevertheless, Schmithals' work has been the object of sharp criticism as well. R. P. Casey called it a striking "example of the way in which historical sources should not be used and historical conclusions should not be drawn" (*JTS*, 8 [1957], 152f.). Carsten Colpe, in his comprehensive monograph on the problem of the Gnostic redeemer myth, *Die Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* (1961), spoke of Schmithals' "pretentious excursus" on the problem of the redeemed redeemer, according to which the Corinthians were supposed to have believed everything the two-thousand-year history of the Mediterranean World had cast up. Moreover, Schmithals was said to have fabricated a myth more difficult to comprehend than the Naassene preaching! In a more serious vein, Colpe charged Schmithals also with ignorance of basic published texts and serious deficiencies of method (p. 64). Less direct and biting, but nonetheless negative and telling in his evaluation, was Hans Conzelmann in his recent (1969) Meyer commentary, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, p. 29. Conzelmann described the Gnostic hypothesis as superfluous for an understanding of the Pauline texts in question, as well as for the Corinthian opposition underlying those texts. (Schmithals has since replied to Conzelmann in *New Testament Studies*, 16 [1970], 373-84.) Moreover, in an article entitled "Did the Gnostics curse Jesus?", *Journal of Biblical*

Literature, 86 (1967), 301-5, Birger Pearson has questioned Schmithals' appropriation of the cursing of Jesus recounted by Origen and its applicability to the problem of Paul's Corinthian opponents.

To pass a hasty judgment on this debate would be as foolish as it would be unfair. Nevertheless, the serious nature of the criticisms levelled at Schmithals' work cannot be ignored. While the book is significant and provocative, it is scarcely universally acknowledged as a landmark of New Testament criticism. On the other hand, just because it is the focal point of an important debate in New Testament scholarship, we are fortunate to have *Gnosticism in Corinth* in English translation.

—D. Moody Smith

A Framework for Faith: Lundensian Theological Methodology in the Thought of Ragnar Bring. Thor Hall. Leiden, E. J. Brill. 1970. 265 pp. Gld. 56.

Ragnar Bring, for many years the colleague of Anders Nygren, succeeded Nygren to the chair of systematic theology at the University of Lund, in Sweden. He retired in 1962 after 28 years in that chair. Bring and his predecessor are, in Hall's judgment, "the two major lights in Scandanavian theology in our age." By a critical examination of Bring's theology (within the context of a thorough and competent survey of recent Scandanavian theology generally) Hall seeks to do two things—bring Lundensian theology into dialogue with contemporary Protestant theology generally and find in it, as represented by Bring, the main elements for "a framework" of his own understanding of faith.

Thor Hall, as might be expected from a scholar known for his ability to communicate, both in the classroom and pulpit, has written clearly and interestingly; from a purely stylistic viewpoint, this is good theology. The

slick paper and rather formidable format of the Brill publication ought not discourage the reader—for to say the least, this theologizing is scarcely guilty of the dullness and pedantry so often expected of the world of theological scholarship. It moves, and if the reader at all enjoys good, hard-nosed theology, he will find himself engaged. It is just too polemical to be uninteresting.

Professor Hall tells me that Bring, representative of the Lundensian school, exists in a positivistic atmosphere (very American, in this respect) for which "science" is the paradigm, indeed, the only form of genuine knowledge. He is so impressed (or oppressed) by this ethos that he is forced to defend theology against it, by showing it also to be truly scientific. To do this he must first demonstrate that theology is not metaphysics, which positivism cannot tolerate. Metaphysics is born of what William Temple called the "Cartesian faux pas," the sceptical and unnecessary separation of the knower and his knowledge from the known, the subject from the object, which necessitates speculation about the ultimate metaphysical reality which transcends subject and object and makes knowledge possible. Following Aulen (and positivism generally) Bring begins with a trust in human experience and knowledge. Epistemology then becomes concerned only with the analysis of how man in fact does know, not with the question of if and why he can know.

The second step is to show that alongside the other sciences there can also be and must be a theological science. Here Bring's method returns, through his teacher Aulen and Lundensian thought generally, to Schleiermacher, and seeks to show by philosophical analysis that there are four discreet, distinct and separate dimensions or realms of experience, each of which is ordered by certain a priori categories that govern language and determine meaning in that area. One

of these dimensions is the religious, which comes into conflict with other sciences only where there is a categorical confusion on either side, and the integrity and discreteness of the areas is violated. The transcendental a priori operative in each dimension is formal only, and consists of "various categorical 'questions'" which define a particular dimension of experience to which correspond "different clusters of historical-empirical 'answers'". The task of a scientific Christian theology is to understand the particular Christian 'answer' in terms of these a priori categories or questions which are presupposed by the universal religious experience and which constitute this experience as an independent *meinungssammanhang* (an ordered and discrete system of meaning, literally, "meaning-connections"). This method requires also the historical critical analysis of the Christian experience in order to determine its *grundmotiv* (basic principle or essence) which defines it as *motivssammanhang* (a system of meanings derived from the basic motif). As we have seen, if this theology is to be scientific it cannot be metaphysical—it can make no assertions about the other dimensions of experience, which necessarily would have the effect of encroaching upon the autonomy of and violating the basic trust in the full range of experience.

Hall is fundamentally persuaded by this method because it provides a scientific, epistemological underpinning for theology which would appear to warrant it in a scientific age. By understanding religion in terms of the universal religious a priori he avoids the subjectivism that is so offensive to Bring and to positivism, namely, the notion that the theological object can be discerned only with the special subjectivity afforded by "the eyes of faith," and by focusing on the historical-empirical experience he avoids metaphysics. So far so good, apparently, but the price is dear, and I am not certain that Hall is fully aware

of it or that if he is, he should be willing to pay it.

Consider, first, the distinction between the purely formal a priori question and the material, empirical answer. Bring is very hard put to identify the a priori for the very reason that to say anything about it is to give it some material content and thus imply some sort of universal natural religion that compromises the empirical "answer;" whereas to say nothing is to assert merely the thatness of the religious phenomenon but offer no method for interpreting it in a theology. Hall sees the problem but regards it not as a shortcoming in principle but only in application.

Secondly, this method stumbles over the fact that there is another, non-scientific, theology that is immediately necessary to faith—a reflection of faith upon itself, and that this theology invariably makes universalizing, metaphysical assertions to the effect that the truth of faith is truth as such, encompassing all dimensions of human experience. These assertions scientific theology cannot allow. Hall recognizes the neglect in Bring of this kind of theology, but does not, I feel, perceive that Bring's method can in principle neither allow for it nor undertake it.

A corollary of the above problem is that while faith reflection talks in a metaphysical way *about* God, scientific theology can only talk about the empirical, historical experience of faith. As a man of Christian faith Hall sees the necessity for God-talk, but as a Bringian scientific theologian he cannot justify it. Therefore he finds himself, as in his first concluding thesis "toward a critical [scientific] method for theology," in an apparent contradiction. He states quite paradoxically (to say the least) that "theology is man's thinking about God," and yet, that "it is significant *not* [*italics mine*] so much for what it says about the object of faith as far what it says about the man who theologizes." (P. 244) Does this mean

something other than that as theology does its thing and thinks about God it is insignificant?

Scientific theology analyses the religious experience from the perspective of universal religious a priori, yet Hall rightly contends that "the appropriate context for theology is within a community of men who share a certain faith and who desire to live in the light of this faith. . . ." (Thesis 2, p. 244) How then can one be both a scientific and a Christian theologian?

Many of my questions can be reduced to a query about the intended a-metaphysical stance of this method. It fails to recognize what Wittgenstein was finally to discover, that to be categorically a-metaphysical is to be metaphysical. To reduce knowledge and reality to the empirical is to say a good deal about "being as such," about the metaphysical—namely, that there is no such being. God-talk would appear to be excluded a priori. This contradiction is manifest within his own analytic, as Hall recognizes, when it fails to provide any context for the integration and explanation of the discrete dimensions of experience as discovered by its analysis. In his 26th thesis Hall calls for this explanation by analysis of "the relationship between the different dimensions." Disavowing metaphysics from the outset, he fails to perceive the obvious, that a unifying category would have to transcend experience and its categories, and that such transcendence is precisely what metaphysics is all about.

In sum, Bring and Hall appear trapped by the positivist dogma. Bring is tacitly more aware of this than Hall, insofar as he does not attempt, or so it would seem, even to answer to the above issues; whereas Hall seems to think that, with Bring's method, he indeed can. (I must judge Bring correct.) With this method one can at best talk about God-talk, but hardly about God himself.

I would raise questions with Hall at another level. Granting that the mat-

ters Bring deals with are important, and that they are quite similar to those that occupy American theology, it is right for him to want to bring Bring into dialogue with the theology more familiar to us. However, he leaves the reader with the impression, to my mind unwarranted, that not only is Bring's method *a* way, but that it is *the* way. We are told for instance that "the reason for the lack of understanding of the theoretical underpinnings of Lundensian theology may . . . be found in the general disinterest, in Europe as well as America, toward the hard core methodological problems that are preliminary to the theological work." (P. 16) To this assessment I cannot agree. What Hall really means, as his continuing argument shows, is that Barth, Brunner, etc., are wrong, so radically so that there is no possibility of even discussing the matter with them. Thus, the fact that Barth insists, in conscious dialogue with the so-called scientific methodology, that theology is also a science, suggests to Hall no dialogue whatsoever with Bring. Incidentally, I cannot but feel that Bring and Hall have adopted the positivist presuppositions at the point of its dogma about the scientific method, without realizing, as Barth does, among many others, that for scientists themselves there is no scientific method *per se* and in *abstracto*, but only those particular methods, as determined by the object (not a priori categories), that prove useful for understanding that object.

Further, we are told that "Tillich's starting point is, in essence, the same as Barth's and Brunner's." Surely they would not agree! In any case, such a judgment means that the debate between them is unimportant and, since it is within that debate (including, of course Bultmann) that most of us have found ourselves, one may infer that American theology generally is also unimportant. This type of judgment, together with others made in his introductory chapter, reveals

Hall's failure to take the European-American scene sufficiently seriously. Nevertheless, this book is interesting, even significant, and certainly competent, exciting, and provocative—as this review should evidence. Furthermore, in its effort to address a positivistic age by a renewal of a critical, Schleiermacherian analysis, it is both relevant and challenging to our situation. I heartily recommend it.

—Robert T. Osborn

Grace and Common Life. David Bailly Harned. University Press of Virginia. 1971. 150 pp. \$2.25 paper.

David Harned's new book deserves close reading and careful reflection by anyone who is interested in the problem of understanding Christian faith in a secular age and the relationship of that faith to individual and corporate life in the world. *Grace and Common Life* is a series of lectures originally given at Punjabi University in Patiala, India. Harned seeks to explore the truths of human existence shared by men of diverse cultural backgrounds in his effort to argue that a true sense of the holy grows out of ordinary, common experience. The methodological thesis of the book is that, in our time, "the quest for the holy has become diffused beyond the normal precincts of the sacred or religious." The author recently edited a volume of essays dealing with the problem of secularization (Harned and James Childress, eds.: *Secularization and the Protestant Prospect*, Westminster, 1970); and this new book is evidence that his thought and study have born much fruit. Providing a concise and lucid discussion of the secularization process, which in itself is worth the price of the book, *Grace and Common Life* probes significantly beyond the shallow affirmations or rejections of the secular which in recent years have flowed from the nation's presses.

Harned contends that it is in the

common experience of personal relationship that man comes to know something of the transcendent. The recognition of the ultimate in common personal encounter Harned calls *grace*; he selects the *family* and *play among peers* as the two decisive factors in man's life which uniquely explicate the reality of grace.

The author's treatment of the family is stylistically sensitive and often poetic; but it is not a blind celebration. In our time of rapid and all-encompassing change, no informed writer could overlook the radical societal challenges to the life of the family as an institution. Commentators differ on the prognosis; Harned's claim is that the family, as the one institution which can provide a constellation of relatively stable relationships, may well grow more important in a time of unsettling change. The judgment about the significance and the future of the family is key to the author's suggestion that it is in family relationships that we learn the true meaning of life, and thus dare to commit ourselves to the proposition that the universe is ordered and ultimately benevolent. Harned argues that the family is so inherently meaningful that it becomes the primary motive and justification for our faith in God; and further, it provides the imagery through which we express that faith.

Readers acquainted with the work of Peter Berger (especially *The Sacred Canopy* and *A Rumor of Angels*) will recognize something of the problem Harned sets for himself. In *A Rumor of Angels*, Berger attempts to move from common, if you will universal, experiences of man to "signals of transcendence" and then to an eclectic statement of orthodox Protestantism. He fails to justify his abrupt movement from the "signals of transcendence" to his full-blown theological scheme. Harned avoids Berger's mistake because he does not abandon his methodological thesis as he begins his theological reflection.

Whether or not he succeeds depends, I think, on the reader's theological disposition. Not all families provide either the justification, or, thank heaven, the imagery for the ultimate; and the effort to start with man's experience always leaves one open to challenge from those for whom such experience simply does not provide "intimations" of sufficient cogency to merit constructive theology. Harned's theological reflection, however, does make sense in light of his starting point because of the "master image"—man as player—through which he seeks to translate the reality of grace into terms meaningful for modern man.

Harned argues that the image of "man as player" is a key to understanding the nature of authentic existence for the individual self and the self in community. Man as player suggests that the self *chooses* to play, that the self recognizes *rules* of the game, and that the self sees that a game ends and thus is not *in itself ultimately significant*. The rich and suggestive image allows the author to contrast the attitude of man as player with the sense of despair and frustration which may overtake the modern secular man for whom, because all meaning and significance abide in the moment, life takes on a seriousness which is dehumanizing. The notion of man as player brings perspective to man's activities; it allows him to "wink" at life, to relax, and to know that all does not depend ultimately on him.

Harned's book is an able effort to start with the common experiences of man and move toward theological affirmations. The problems—as well as the strengths—inherent in the methodology are present here; but the pay-offs is uniquely rewarding precisely because the constructive development of the image of man as player is so authentically illuminating.

There are numerous questions and issues which might be high-lighted; *Grace and Common Life* can be mined

for many rich gems to spark lively discussion. One question of particular importance, however, concerns me. In what way does the transcendent reality of God, which allows us to image man as player and find meaning there for individual and corporate life, provide normative guidance for human action? Harned has described dimensions of grace (community, acceptance, and empowering) which would of necessity figure in ethical reflection; but one cannot read the book without attempting to define more precisely the functional significance of the author's notion of grace for the moral life. The phrase "common life," after all, is many faceted; judging from this small volume, we will be well served if Harned goes on in a subsequent essay to explore the way in which the grace which grows out of, and is realized in, "common life" in turn takes on *normative significance* for the *ordering* of "common life."

—Dennis M. Campbell

Social Responsibility and Investments.
Charles W. Powers. Abingdon.
1971. 224 pp. \$3.50.

Professor Powers, who teaches ethics at the Yale Divinity School, has addressed himself to an issue quite new on the agenda of academic concern: the problems and policies of church bodies in their investments. It is an instance of the Christ-culture problem which passes under the nose and notice of most laymen with as little trouble to their conscience as does the collection plate on Sunday morning. Yet it is a matter of growing concern to church boards and hierarchies who are responsible for decisions about the investment of what is estimated by one researcher (p. 129) to be \$164 billion of church wealth. Powers applies loosely Richard Niebuhr's Christ-Culture categories as typologies for considering the church's normative stance. One of the more intriguing polarities in the perspectives

to be brought to the issue is that between "Purity and Effectiveness," i.e. should the church avoid investment in corporations manufacturing "dirty" products, like liquor or tobacco, (Duke Endowment Trustees, beware!) or give priority to investment of maximum yield, impure or pure as the products may be? It takes slight moral reflection to realize, as Powers says, that "a clean portfolio is almost an impossible ideal." (p. 90) Investment in the automobile industry, for instance, turning out cars that take more American lives than all our wars, is certainly tainted stock. Yet consider the beneficence of the Ford Foundation. It is a sign of increasing moral maturity that considerations of social ethics, such as the treatment of minority groups, weigh more heavily than pietistic scruples in decisions about investments of church funds. At least indirectly, here is one way, Powers rightly claims, that the church can fulfill its role as the conscience of the community, and the instrument for Christ transforming culture.

The book is long on economics and fairly short on ethics. There is much competent, informed, shrewd economic reasoning, and valuable data about what guidelines are now being developed by church boards (especially the Presbyterians and the United Church of Christ). What an ethicist finds missing here—though perhaps this is something the book does not intend to deliver—is a more probing reflection on one "Perspective" in the mix that Powers suggests is required: a "Substantive Christian ethics" of stewardship that can provide a normative base, other than that of classical capitalism, for investment policy.

—Waldo Beach

Women in Church and Society: A Historical and Theological Inquiry.
Georgia Harkness. Abingdon. 1972.
240 pp. \$4.75.

Laitly and clergy, men and women

will profit from this sweeping presentation of the historical and theological dimensions of the woman question today. Serving the church as teacher and author, Dr. Harkness is respected as a distinguished interpreter of the Christian faith. From her own and the experiences of others, she considers various skirmishes that have been waged over sex discrimination. The anecdotes are amusing and revealing.

Surveying the history of women with a focus on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, she joins the past with the problems of the present. She explores the conditions that have produced the woman's movement. Not dodging difficult issues, she observes, "Never since the beginning of history have women been regarded as having full equality with men" (p. 36). Unlike many other books on women today, this statement is set within the context of the church. Since Professor Harkness writes from a Protestant perspective, her work is a helpful contrast to the Catholic viewpoint expressed by Mary Daly in *The Church and the Second Sex* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968).

Considering the Biblical witness to the status of women, she summarizes the contributions of critical scholarship. She discusses, for example, the creation narratives and the attitude of Jesus concerning women. She even tackles the inconsistencies evidenced when some of Paul's actions toward women are compared with some of his statements.

Finally, she considers the theological themes that touch upon the issue of women in the church. She advocates "firm theological foundations" if guidelines are going to be found that will bring "greater justice in a vital human relation." (p. 8) Instead of seeking a theology of women, she sees women and men as equal partners in the meaning and structure of all creation. Both are in need of an understanding of the Christian view of Man. On the doc-

trine of redemption, she notes the universal agreement that salvation is open to all, but she questions the position that only men are fit to be ministers—the mediators of salvation. Concluding with the theological ethics and the social responsibilities of the man-woman relationships, she argues for the ordination of women.

By bringing together so much material and presenting it clearly and simply, Dr. Harkness has provided a handy book. Others may profitably study the details of the historical backgrounds and the theological themes that are surveyed here. Firm theological foundations and guidelines for action can develop from evaluations of the directions she suggests. Many new guidelines will be needed if both women and men are to build together in church and society.

—Martha M. Wilson

Christian Biopolitics: A Credo and Strategy for the Future. Kenneth Cauthen. Abingdon. 1971. 159 pp. \$4.00.

In *Christian Biopolitics* Kenneth Cauthen effectively raises the questions of theology's role and the Church's function in a future-oriented global society grown technologically top-heavy. Quite clearly Professor Cauthen articulates for both theology and the Christian community that role and style which affirm the possibility of celebration, newness, hope, and responsibility amid a rapidly changing order. Throughout his six chapters, Cauthen's future-focused theological perspective informs both a critique of contemporary technology-shaped world views and his response as Christian theologian to those world views. It is symbolic perhaps of the magnitude of challenges confronting man in the latter third of the 20th century that this author suggests only two catchwords for understanding the possibilities of the future—"utopia" and "oblivion." Clearly opting for the constructive po-

tential of the former, Cauthen explores various alternatives open to Christian theology and to the Christian church in a technology-dominated social and political setting.

As a theologian Cauthen takes seriously the methodology and substance of disciplines outside his own. Throughout *Christian Biopolitics* it is evident that the author has taken both the time and energy to develop requisite conceptual tools and vocabulary for dealing across disciplinary barriers. In so doing this theologian creates from theology's vantage point the possibility of dialog between the Christian community and disciplines of science, technology, and behavioral studies. And in his conversations with the sciences and social sciences Cauthen has discovered a mutuality of usefulness springing directly from interdisciplinary sharing. The author suggests that the Church might learn much from the manner in which "secular" institutions are currently dealing with the implications of the future. By affirming the imperative of dealing in the present with alternate shapes and styles of life in the future, this theologian suggests that specific approaches of collective "thinking" useful in industrial, academic, and governmental institutions might be creatively appropriated by the Church as it confronts the confusing and confounding pressure of the future on the present. In this vein, Cauthen looks specifically to the "think tank" approach for considering wide varieties of futuristic possibilities. In the author's opinion the Christian community has yet to develop an operational model for understanding itself as an institution, its message as "future-creating," and its strategy for appropriating its message in institutional forms as revolutionary. Cauthen presses toward such modular thinking.

The model suggested in the second section of the work, "Response," deals both theologically and organizationally with the dynamics of theology's in-

volvement in and understanding of the contemporary phenomena of rapid change—social, institutional, technological. Cauthen's model devolves from conversations and interaction with a variety of "non-theological" disciplines. Because the Christian community is set amid a rapidly evolving social and scientific order, Cauthen notes that its conceptual tools must appropriately come to terms with and in some measure reflect the realities of impermanence, instability, and transience. The press of the future on the present forces the Church to consider its strategy for wrestling with institutional structures, social and personal values, and political issues many years in the future. Cauthen's model attempts to unite the dimension of historical awareness, technological insight and planning, and ecological responsibility.

According to Kenneth Cauthen, the Church—particularly in America—shares peculiar responsibility for interpreting and constructively responding to the dilemmas confronting human society. These issues include questions of priorities—economic growth versus environmental quality, population increase versus the limits of agriculture, technological sophistication and the control of technology for peace versus the possibility of nuclear annihilation. Cauthen sees that no simple response is adequate for any of these value conflicts. The task before the Christian community, and before the theological disciplines in particular, becomes one of creating enlarged conceptual models for understanding the interaction of technology and value creation in order that the possibilities of the future might remain open and that the shapes of the future might be informed by commitment to values commensurate with human fulfillment and health. As Cauthen himself states:

A final identifying mark of biopolitics is that it employs a method

of creative synthesis. Assuming that the truth is one, science, philosophy, and theology are seen ideally as mutually supporting perspectives on reality. The revelation of God, given in scripture, is regarded as authoritative only insofar as it provides clarifying images which illuminate experience as it is critically interpreted by reason. . . .

. . . Theology will need to become increasingly a corporate enterprise in which teams of thinkers combine their efforts to relate Christian insights to the complex issues of a science-based technological age.

. . . The theology of the future needs to be by design a thoroughly interdisciplinary task. Theology as an isolated discipline which is structures primarily or solely in reference to biblical and traditional dogmatic themes will decline in importance. . . (pp. 113-114).

—William M. Finnin

Sermons in American History: Selected Issues in the American Pulpit 1630-1967. DeWitte Holland, editor. Abingdon. 1971. 535 pp. \$11.95.

DeWitte Holland's volume of representative sermons by forty American preachers is welcome, both as intrinsically significant Americana, and as documentary illumination for the score of issues which they consider. The concern here is "not with great pulpit personalities, sermon technique, theory or theology of preaching, or inspiration to preach the Word; the focal point is issues." Even so, Titans and eccentrics find their place in the procession of pulpiteers which includes Jonathan Edwards as well as Carl McIntire.

Some of the issues are long since outmoded: There may still be among us those who would defend the right and obligation of certain men to hold

others in bondage, but the opprobrium of slavery is no longer openly questioned. Again, it is difficult often for contemporary folk, pressed as all are by the exigencies of the present, to become passionately involved in controversy over the evolutionary hypothesis. Yet some of these sermons demonstrate that issues from other days and different cultural contexts are but evidences of man's constant struggle to be himself freely, however protean the shape of his effort may appear. Roger Williams and Charles G. Finney elicited resonance when they preached. These men, though dead, still speak to us. And, of course, the selections concerning issues about which there is not yet unanimous enthusiasm or general apathy carry their own appeal and involvement, which readers doubtless bring with them to this volume. Within the community of awareness today, amateurs and professionals, those in church and those alienated from it, are interested in "Popular vs. Experimental Religion," and "The Challenge of the Secular." For them, as well as for those who seek sermons on the rise of Unitarianism in America, there are appropriate selections in Holland's publication.

The editor's plan (as sensible as any) is to introduce the sermons (usually two in number, a "pro" and a "con") of each division with a short, critical essay which defines the issue addressed, and supplies information

necessary for placing the sermons in context. Of these introductions, John W. Carlton's "The Ecumenical Movement" is a model of lucid expression and economy of style. There is also a short biographical sketch of each preacher.

Perhaps the easiest (and the cruelest) habit of any reviewer is to chide an author for not having written a book which he plainly did not desire or attempt to write. Holland cannot be criticized, then, for keeping to his purpose, clearly stated, to publish selected sermons on selected issues. He has done what he set out to do. But in consideration of a volume of sermons which sweeps from colonial times to our own, it is understandable—if not defensible—for a reviewer to speculate about whether such a work should make a place for William E. Channing, Lyman Beecher, and Phillips Brooks (to mention some who, though preachers, also spoke of issues), or any room for such as William Sunday, Aimee Semple McPherson, Billy Graham, and Norman Vincent Peale, who in their several ways became issues themselves. Whatever the decision, the student of American Christianity is indebted to Professor Holland and his associates for gathering in one volume these sermons which are eloquently illustrative of the issues he considers.

—Stuart C. Henry

